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ABSTRACT

A study investigated (1) the role of English as a language of power, and how it has affected multilingualism in Canada and South Africa, (2) the nature and implementation of South Africa's multilingual policy, (3) how South Africa's language education policy and policy implementation compare to those in Canada, (4) how South African language teachers approach English language education, multilingualism, and multiculturalism in education, and (5) ethical issues related to English language teaching in the two countries. Data were gathered through a review of publications and government documents and a visit to South Africa. Focus is on the status of endangered languages and the role played by English language education and policy in endangering them. Background information and documents on South African language policies and education are appended. Contains 56 references. (MSE)

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Technical Report

Taming the Cobra: English, Multilingualism, and Language Education in South Africa, A Comparison with Canada

Ruth Epstein

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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Contents

Introduction 1

Objectives of the Study 2

Approach to the Research 3

Limitations 4

English: The Language of Power 5

English for Good or for Evil 5

English in South Africa 9

English Education in South Africa 11

The Past 11

Separate Education Systems 12

Primary and Secondary Education 12

Education for Whites 12

Education for Indians 12

Education for Blacks 13

Tertiary Education 14

Inferior Education for the Majority 15

The Present 16

The Current Choice for English Medium Schools 17

Education, Economics, and Disarray 18

Indian and Coloured Education and Afrikaans Today 20

Educational Policies of the New Government 21

A Brief Analysis of the Language Policy 22

Policy Implementation in Educational Institutions 24

Policy Implementation at the School Level 24

Policy Implementation in TEIs 24

Implementing Other New Educational Policies 26

Repercussions on Teaching English and on Language Maintenance in South Africa 27

Impact of New Government Policies on South African Classrooms Today 27

Teacher Education 27

The Needs 27

Progressive Teacher Education Programs 30

Advocates of Multilingual Education in South Africa 32

PRAESA 32

A Word from South African Teachers 34

Ethics of Teaching English: What the Literature Says 35

Perpetuating Imperialism: The Problem and Some Solutions 36

Approaches to Multicultural and Multilingual Teaching 39

Teachers Facing the Reality of English 40

Multilingual Education in Canada: A Comparison with South Africa 41

Factors Contributing to Aboriginal Language Loss 42

Colonial Education as Contributor to Loss of Language and Identity 42

Current Factors 43

Awareness of One's Language 44

Approaches to Teaching English to Aboriginal People 45

In Search of Antivenom 46

Setting Priorities 46

Consideration of Context and Language Varieties 47

Implications for Language Teachers 48

Conclusion 49

Appendix A: Institutions Visited in South Africa 50

Appendix B: Constitutional Documents 51

Appendix C: Key Dates in Language Planning in South Africa 57

Appendix D: Implementation of South Africa's Multilingual Policy in Schools 59

Example from Eastern Cape 59

Example from Gauteng 61

Appendix E: Implementation of South Africa's Multilingual Policy in Tertiary Educational Institutions....62

Port Elizabeth Technikon....62

Rhodes University....63

Appendix F: Summary Notes on the Extinction of Canadian Aboriginal Languages....64

Language Classification: "Viable" and "Endangered"....65

Appendix G: South Africa Background Notes....66

References....68

Personal Communications, South Africa....72

Taming the Cobra: English, Multilingualism, and Language Education in South Africa—a Comparison with Canada

Ruth Epstein

September 1999

Introduction

English is like a cobra: it kills other languages.

These words of a South African Linguistics professor summarize the negative potential of English. But, like most things in life, the venom of the cobra can be used for good or evil. This paper explores various aspects of English, multilingualism and language education in South Africa and makes some comparisons to Canada.

South Africa is a country in transformation as it struggles to overcome the 40-year legacy of apartheid and create a "rainbow"[1] nation. Guided by a new constitution that proclaims equality for all, regardless of language, ethnicity, colour, gender, sexual orientation, and religion, people and institutions are struggling to accept and actualize this Rolls Royce policy in practical ways (G. Barkhuizen, personal communication, February 1999). While no timelines have been placed on implementing new school language policy, changes are occurring and giving rise to discussion over multilingualism and multiculturalism, and the place of English in South Africa. What will result remains to be seen. This paper, therefore, provides but a snapshot of English and multilingualism in South Africa as it appeared to me when I visited the country between January 18 and March 2, 1999.

While in South Africa, I explored the topics of multilingualism and multiculturalism within the education system. I will start this paper by outlining the research objectives and data collection process. I will then provide readers with some background information through a discussion of the power of English as an international language. My exploration of multilingualism begins with a look at the past and present education system in South Africa, especially with respect to language education. South Africa's new language policy and its implementation are also outlined. I then move on to the impact of South Africa's educational history, the current situation in education, and language policy as it relates to teaching English, language maintenance and teacher education in South Africa. Coverage of the literature regarding ethical issues in teaching English is also presented. I compare multilingual education in Canada with the South African situation. I conclude with some ways that we, as educators, can learn

[1] Not all people interviewed are pleased with the concept of the "rainbow" nation; for one thing, a rainbow has no black in it.

from one another's experiences and, insofar as it is possible, make positive use of the venom.

This paper will be of interest to those involved in English language teaching, particularly those interested in multilingualism and multiculturalism, and in the ethical implications of teaching English in environments where local languages are endangered. Educators interested in the case of South Africa as illustrative of the complexity of language and culture and the place of English will also find useful information in this paper.

Objectives of the Study

During my previous sabbatical leave (1994), I visited a number of educational institutions in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand to learn about distance delivered programs for indigenous peoples in those countries. English was the medium of instruction (MOI) in all of the programs I explored. During that study, I found that language and cultural maintenance were major concerns. The desire of those involved—students, program developers, instructors, and the community—in maintaining and in some cases regaining their mother tongue (MT)[2] was especially evident. This was because people were concerned about loss of language and cultural identity. Also, inclusion of indigenous content and world view within educational programs was seen as integral to ensure the preservation of such knowledge for future generations (Epstein, 1995).

In addition to this, as an English language teacher, I have always been interested in the growing power of English worldwide. In fact, over the past decade there have been increased efforts in applied linguistics "to examine the impact of social, economic and political forces upon the theory and practice of language teaching and learning" (Tollefson, 1995, p. 1). There are a number of ethical implications to teaching the language of power. I was interested in exploring how these issues are being played out in South Africa where there are a large number of official languages, including English. I wanted to learn what effects this might have on language preservation and for language teaching. In a world where English has become the dominant language in so many spheres, how are countries such as Canada and South Africa maintaining and promoting the variety of languages and cultures that exist in their nations? What factors contribute to or mitigate against the preservation of languages and cultures that have little economic power? How are schools and tertiary educational institutions (TEIs) involved? How does the situation in South Africa compare to that in Canada? What can nations learn from one another's experiences?

Finally, I was interested in how South African educational institutions are implementing the country's new official multilingual policy—a policy that gives equal status to 11 languages. Of special concern is the ethics of teaching English and teachers' consideration of power issues in their approach to English language education.

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2 "Mother tongue" indicates that the language is learned at home and still understood in the home. The "home language" is the language most spoken in the home (Norris, 1998, p. 10).

My objectives for this part of my sabbatical study can be summarized as follows:

- to explore English as a language of power and it how has affected multilingualism in South Africa as well as in Canada
- to learn about South Africa's multilingual policy and how that policy is being implemented in South African educational institutions
- to compare South African language education policy and policy implementation to that in Canada
- to learn how language teachers in South Africa approach English language education, multilingualism, and multiculturalism in education
- to assemble ethical issues related to the teaching of English and relate those issues to South Africa and Canada

Approach to the Research

> *...research is not a wholly objective activity carried out by detached scientists. It is...a social activity affected by the researcher's own motivations and values. It also takes place within a broader social context, within which politics and power relations influence what research is undertaken, how it is carried out, and whether and how it is reported and acted upon.* (Blaxter, Hughes, & Tight, 1996, p. 15)

Before going to South Africa, I familiarized myself through the literature and through communication with South African colleagues on the multilingual policy and on some of the issues involved in English and language education. With this information in mind, I developed questions on multilingual policy and policy implementation for focus groups, hoping to synthesize this data into a neat little research paper. However, once I arrived in South Africa and began talking to those I had been corresponding with, it became immediately clear that I would be unable to assemble a representative sample of focus group participants. It also became evident that because the country is in transition, the issue was a complex one that would lead to understanding in greater depth through discussions with individuals.

My reading focused primarily on South African government documents, publications related to the cultural politics of English, and publications for language teachers. During the study I interviewed administrators involved in policy implementation, teachers, and teacher educators at a number of institutions (see Appendix A).

Limitations

As with all studies, there are limitations. In this study, my major reservation relates to the subjectivity of the information collected, particularly my own subjectivity. I embarked upon this study with a range of personal opinions and perceptions about the power of English, the connection between language and culture, English language education, and my perspective on the value of multiculturalism and multilingualism. Because I am from a developed, English speaking country, my views are also those of my culture, although I strive to be reflective and take a critical stance to those views. Also, I knew little about South Africa, other than what I had read before going there, so I made assumptions about that country's development. I am also concerned about the subjectivity of the information that I collected. Everyone I interviewed was extremely vocal. While most viewpoints coincided with each other and the literature, they are primarily those of white educators who often spoke on behalf of black and coloured people. Missing, for the most part, are the voices of the people struggling to overcome the hardships of apartheid that still linger today.

While I am uneasy about this subjectivity, biases, and missing voices, I am also aware that this study is exploratory and qualitative in nature. Therefore, I must report what people have told me and trust their perceptions. The study was also always intended to be limited. It made sense that I only interview one segment of society—people who have employment similar to mine, for these are the people I could relate to most closely and had greatest access to in the short time I was in South Africa. Given the number of cultural and sociopolitical factors, not the least of which was my lack of access during my short time in the country to areas where black and coloured people live, it was only possible for me to interview those that I did. Those few black, coloured, and Indian educators who I did interview, however, held views similar to those of the white educators that I interviewed. Finally, I have consulted recent literature to verify opinion wherever possible.

It is important that readers are aware of these limitations and, rather than criticize, reflect critically on the information presented to open further discussion on this topic.

English: The Language Of Power

Depart:
You knew when to come.
Surely you know when to go.
Do not ignore, dismiss,
Pretending we are foolish;
Harbour contempt in eloquence.
We know your language.
(Thumboo, 1979, in Pennycook, 1994, p. 259)

Today, English is viewed worldwide as the language of opportunity, the language of international communication, the language of economic power, and the language of science and technology. Today, as many people speak English outside of English speaking countries as they do within them. Over one-third of the world's population has some command of English (Crystal, 1997, p. 60). The language has special status in over 70 countries including Singapore, India, Nigeria, and Ghana. It is the most widely taught foreign language in over 100 nations, often replacing the teaching of other languages (Crystal, 1997, p. 3–4) and taking time away from the study of other subjects and other languages. It is increasingly used globally in business, education, international academia and research, communications including computer technology, publications, the media, advertising, pop culture, entertainment and recreation, travel, and for safety reasons (e.g., aviation safety). In 1999, 84% of Internet servers used English, and in 1997, 90% of Internet hosts were based in English speaking countries (Pakir, 1999, p. 111). Also, such a large proportion of the world's textbooks are created in English that students are obliged to learn the language and western forms of knowledge that accompany it, in spite of limitations of the content to local applications (Pennycook, 1995, p. 42). It is believed that soon second language speakers of English will outnumber native English speakers (Pakir, 1999, p. 112).

English has become a global language because, according to Crystal (1997), "it has been in the right place at the right time" (p. 110)—primarily at moments when military gain and economic dominance were at stake (p. 6–8). By extension, people recognize the advantage of speaking English for self-empowerment, status, and advancement. "Worldwide, there is a measure of prestige attached to the ability to speak English" (de Klerk, 1998, p. 354). It has not always been this way, and in future it might change (Swales, 1990, in Masters, 1998, p. 723). But until then, the power of one language, English, has global implications for the very survival of other languages and cultures.

English for Good or for Evil

Because it is the language of power, English, like the cobra's venom, can be used for good or evil. English is enmeshed in social, political, and economic power, including the inequalities that these powers imply. On one hand its communicative abilities have mediated values, social identity, and material and cultural needs, on the other hand English has perpetuated differences within societies, and acted as gatekeeper and regulator of power distribution.

Bianco (1995, p. 3) argues that the link between language and power is becoming more pervasive in the modern world. Communication in one common language has its advantages as well its shortcomings. The advantages include opportunities and responsibility for sharing the world's wealth through international co-operation (Bianco, 1995, p. x), sharing information such as discoveries in science and technology, and setting useful global standards (Master, 1998, p. 721) as well as sharing cultural diversity and promoting cross-cultural understanding.

However, English is accompanied by a system of "power/knowledge relationships" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 36); the language does not exist in isolation but against a backdrop of history, both past history and history in the making:

> There are moral, social, cultural, economic and political questions to be pursued here, dealing with poverty, starvation, tourism, pollution, migration, multinational companies, the global diffusion of certain forms of knowledge and much more. (Pennycook, 1994, p. 40)

The scope of this paper prevents exploration of all these issues, but I will raise a few general concerns below.

English touches all who speak and learn it, or who do not, in powerful ways. Kachru (1986, in Pakir, 1999, p. 106; Crystal, 1997, in Pakir 1999, p. 54) describes the following three concentric circles of English speakers:

- the inner circle of native speakers of English living in English speaking countries (about 375 million speakers as of 1997)
- the outer circle of second language speakers living in countries such as India and Singapore who use varieties of English and standard English, depending on context and purpose (about 375 million speakers as of 1997)
- the expanding circle of people learning English as a foreign language in countries such as China and Russia (about 750 million speakers as of 1997).

A major concern is that English acts as a gatekeeper to access: to economic success, to educational opportunities, and to movement between countries, especially for refugees. As such, it can maintain social, political, and economic inequalities in the interests of keeping the power within English speaking nations (Pennycook, 1995, p. 41). In many non-English speaking countries, especially developing nations, those who do not have access to the language of power because they are isolated, cannot afford English education, or want to maintain their own language and culture do not have access to the same opportunities as those who do speak English. In fact, people and nations have little choice but to learn and use English (and subscribe to some degree to western values) if they want to participate in international activities and in some cases, in activities within their own countries. This is troubling because without English, people and nations will continue to experience the widening gulf between rich and poor, based on access to or, perhaps more aptly expressed, "dependency on" one language. We all seek a peaceful, tolerant, equitable world. It is in everyone's best interest that there be increased economic equality in the world for reasons of international security, global stability, and social justice. Today, with the rise of English as a *lingua franca*, it

appears that language has a vital role in that interest. However, the role must not be one of gatekeeper with imperialistic motives that disempower people and nations.

In many nations the most influential and affluent people often conduct at least part of their lives in English where "English upholds the domination of a small elite and the foreign interests with which they are allied" (Master, 1998, p. 717). It is understandable, then, that in order to gain access to economic privilege, more people are willing to adjust their language to English speakers than the other way around. Those people and nations, that by choice or for other reasons do not acquiesce to the dominance of English, are becoming increasingly isolated economically, cut off from the growing body of information in science and technology, and risk being misunderstood by other nations. While some would argue that people are better off living in small, self-sufficient communities, speaking their own languages and living in traditional ways, one wonders if people living those lives would agree. Why else would people banished to South African "homelands"[3] now be pouring into cities in droves in search of a better life? Why else would many disadvantaged South Africans spend large portions of their income to send their children to schools where the medium of instruction is English? Why else would nations like Nigeria, where very few speak English as a mother tongue (MT), decree that the national language should be English? It appears that a facility in English is an economic and, by extension, a political imperative. Add to this, dependency on powerful nations, historical marginalization of local languages, and the low marketability of those languages (Kamwangamalu, 1995, p. 90–91) and English will always emerge on top.

Another concern with the power of English relates to the marginalization and loss of languages and, because language is so closely tied to culture, the loss of cultures. This is especially true of those languages and cultures that have no power and small numbers of speakers. While some argue that the emergence of English has in fact promoted language rights movements in countries such as New Zealand, Canada, and Australia (Crystal, 1997, p. 18), I would argue that many of those movements are buckling under the pressure of English. It is worth noting that colonization by the English in fact precipitated language loss in those countries in the first place. As Popham (1996, in Master, 1998) notes, "While the engine of colonialism long ago ran out of steam, the momentum of its languages is still formidable, and it is against their tyranny that smaller languages fight to survive" (p. 717).

In nations like Australia and Canada, English is so predominant over other languages, that they are indeed endangered. While language loss is "an intellectual and social tragedy" (Crystal, 1997, p. 17), it is not only the loss of languages that is problematic, but the replacement of those languages with the western ideology that accompanies English (Master, 1998, p. 718). Language is more than communication. It is also tied to values, culture, identity, understanding of self and sense of belonging, concept formation, and world view. People carry their history and literature through their language. "The individual's whole experience is built upon the plan of his language" (Henri Delacroix). Languages and cultures are priceless resources. Once lost and replaced by a new language and world view, they are impossible to regain. Without multiculturalism—that rich diversity of languages and cultures—what a colourless

[3] The "homelands," were areas far removed from White settlement.

place Earth would be! How narrow our perceptions! How much less we would know! How little would we understand how to be at peace with each other!

History has proven the frailty of languages, especially for marginalized peoples. Although, no one knows for certain how many languages have been lost, estimates based on current rates of language loss show that over the next century 80–90% of the world's remaining 6,000 languages could be lost (Crystal, 1997, 17; Bianco, 1995, p. 4). The loss or shrinking numbers of speakers of indigenous languages in countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Africa, Brazil, and Argentina (Norris, 1998; Fredeen, 1991; Crystal, 1997) is well-known. In those countries, much responsibility for language loss can be attributed not only to colonial education systems, such as Canadian residential schools that prohibited aboriginal languages, but also to current systems where English is part of the curriculum (Pennycook, 1995, p. 40). Societal factors such as urbanization marginalize of languages (Norris, 1998). Linguists are now urgently documenting these shrinking languages before they disappear entirely. Also, people are relearning their ancestral languages in the hopes that their languages and cultures will thrive in future generations. For example, in New Zealand Maori people devote hours of learning to regain nearly lost language and culture. And, New Zealand has responded in their support of bilingualism. Today, many non-Maori are also learning the language and about Maori culture because they realize it enriches life in New Zealand. In countries that view multilingualism and multiculturalism as a resource rather than a problem (Culver, 1996), regaining lost languages and cultures has become a priority, in spite of the expense and effort. If only those languages had not been threatened in the first place, this expense and effort could have been avoided. It makes sense, then, to safeguard the diversity of the world's languages and cultures.

Few people would speak out publicly against multilingualism and its partner multiculturalism for fear of being accused of racism. Those who do, associate unilingualism with "development, modernity, and progress" (Bianco, 1995, p. 2). They argue that multiculturalism is divisive; that is, it promotes disunity within a country and it is expensive. They believe that one common language would promote peace and understanding. However, one language does not guarantee harmony. People with one common language still wage wars against each other, as in Northern Ireland, and those who speak a variety of languages can still live in peace, as in Switzerland (Crystal, 1997, p. 13). Those who advocate one global language usually speak English themselves. They fail to see the value of multilingualism "as an amazing world resource which presents us with different perspectives and insights, and thus enables us to reach a more profound understanding of the nature of the human mind and spirit" (Crystal, 1997, p. x).

The value of multiculturalism is recognized in many countries. In the United States the concept of the "melting pot" has been replaced with the concept of the "patchwork quilt." Canada speaks of the "mosaic" and of "distinct societies." South Africa refers to itself as a "rainbow nation." Many nations realize the value of multiculturalism and even write it into their constitutions. Ensuring support for it is another matter. Often it is the will of people to retain their languages and cultures, in spite of poor national support, which emerge as what Pakir (1999) calls "English speaking bilinguals" (p. 107–109). These, however, are often educated people who have been able to maintain their own languages and identities but use English to access opportunities. Master (1998), on the other hand, points to French speaking Canada and Indonesia as examples

of a nation and a cultural group that promote use of their language and the abolition of English on public signs, for example (p. 723).

There is room for optimism in this scenario. Current trends toward world interdependency may dissolve some linguistic and cultural barriers and force English speakers and English speaking nations to be more respectful of other peoples and their cultures (Pakir, 1999, p. 108). In addition, international businesses will need to work locally as well as globally to survive (Pakir, 1999, p. 108). The challenge is to ensure the survival of the most marginalized languages, not only those with large numbers of speakers and economic advantage.

On another note, it is believed that a powerful language like English need not only be seen in a negative light—in fact the venom can cure and people can turn around their disempowerment by using the English language for their own purposes. Chinua Achebe, a Nigerian writer, says that people can reflect their own culture and experiences in an English suited to the new environments in which it is used. Mazrui (1975, in Pennycook, 1995, p. 51) agrees, noting that "although English has been one of the major languages of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa, a language linked to oppression, racism, and cultural imperialism, it was also the language through which opposition to the colonizers was formed." Thus, English can have a unifying function amongst disempowered people. This is an essential use of a global language.

We move on now to some specifics of the place of English in South Africa.

English in South Africa

South Africa is historically multilingual; most people have always spoken at least two languages (Samuels, 1995, p. 75). However, with regard to English and maintenance of indigenous languages, South Africa is a unique case. The potential loss of African languages to English is insidious. South Africans were never discouraged from speaking their languages. Rather, through separate and poor quality education, they were denied access to fluency in English. Today, black people are turning from their traditional languages in favour of English. De Klerk (1998) notes that "despite South Africa's new language policy [discussed later in this paper], and despite...the dangers of linguistic imperialism, there is increasing evidence of a steady shift in allegiance in favour of English" (p. 353).

There are compelling reasons for the power of English in South Africa amongst the general population and in education in particular. Without access to English, South Africa's black, coloured, and Indian populations are denied opportunities and indeed the fulfillment of their basic needs. Many supporters of the former National Party[4] argue that during the apartheid years, blacks were encouraged to maintain their languages and that money was spent on African language maintenance as well as English (and Afrikaans) language instruction. However, the apartheid system's concept of multiculturalism is one stressing separateness. The "enhancement" of African languages was largely cosmetic according to Samuels, Director-General of Education.

[4] The National Party was the party of apartheid. The term "nationalist" is used in South Africa to refer to supporters of the Nationalist Party.

The apartheid policy to emphasize tribalism and ethnicity served to disempower black people politically and economically (Samuels, 1995, p. 75). Blacks resisted and continue to resist MT education because they think it denies them access to improved socio-economic conditions. Thus, MT education will continue to be stigmatized until there are economic advantages for speaking African languages (Kamwangamalu, 1995, p. 98).

In South African schools today, students study in their MT in early elementary years. Around grade 3, English is introduced as the MOI. Often, however, teachers in poor and rural schools do not speak English well because they received their teacher education in their MT. Thus submersion efforts of the past were rarely successful. Today, additive language instruction is touted as the goal, but teachers themselves are still not equipped to teach English, let alone use an additive approach. With English as the MOI, students and teachers also struggle with the teaching and learning of academic subjects. So, even today many disadvantaged students have insufficient English language ability and inadequate content knowledge. People are frustrated by this, and if they can afford it, an increasing number of parents are moving their children from the poor quality black and coloured schools that still exist to more privileged white schools, where the MOI is English.

Students themselves often resist taking the second language requirements intended to help maintain African languages because they feel it slows their progress in English and suspect that multilingualism maintains their separateness and disempowerment. Education in English affords students access to quality materials that have already been developed (Kamwangamalu, 1995, p. 100). Furthermore, people do not seem to associate English with oppression (Pandor, 1995, p. 62; Kamwangamalu, 1995, p. 99), nor do they seem concerned about the potential loss of their language and culture. Instruction in English, they believe, ensures access to the emerging *lingua franca* and all that accompanies it.

In fact, it is mostly white, English speaking educators who think that English has an exaggerated, elevated status and worry most about overcoming colonial history, disempowerment, and loss of language and culture in South Africa. Thus, the choice for English in South Africa is a complex issue, involving people's right to make their own choices as well as any possible deleterious effects of English as the dominant language.

The next section provides more detail on the background and current educational situation in South Africa to provide readers with greater insight into English as the choice for most people.

English Education in South Africa

> *The individual's whole experience is built upon the plan of his language.*
> (Henri Delacroix)

The Past

During apartheid, Afrikaans was the dominant language of government and English the language of industry, commerce, and education (Culver, 1996, p. 15). In education, white students had access to the highest quality, government-funded education. The system affected students both educationally and culturally.

> The country's education system was clearly designed to fuel the apartheid conceptions of the racial, cultural and linguistic supremacy of the controllers of legislative power and was characterised by designs to provide unequal and iniquitous education to different races. Amongst pupils, it bred narrow and distorted conceptions of self-identity, about relations with individuals outside one's defined cultural and racial group and about the boundaries of one's culture. (Samuel, 1998, p. 576)

Samuel's (1998, p. 576–577) features of apartheid language teaching and learning are summarized below along with some further explanation:

- English and Afrikaans, the languages of the white minority (about 13% of the population), gained higher status than the other languages in the country, and thus kept economic wealth in the hands of whites.
- Because English and Afrikaans were the only official languages of instruction, students who spoke those languages were more successful and perceived to be more intelligent than black students.
- The languages spoken by the black majority became marginalized.
- Subtractive bilingualism was practised. The English-Afrikaans medium of instruction systematically separated black people from their mother tongues.
- Teachers implemented a syllabus designed to promote white, Eurocentric concepts. This especially affected the content of education, such as a slanted view of history and inclusion of English literature that was irrelevant to students' lives. Thus, students were made to feel inferior and also had trouble relating to content.
- Rather than gaining communicative competence in target languages, students learned about the language via a structuralist approach. This pedagogical approach, which taught theory and excluded practical application, was also true of the presentation of other school subjects. It is no wonder, then, that students did not learn English.

Thus state language policy aimed to ensure the dominance of whites through the provision of quality education and to ensure limited participation of blacks in the economy and political life of the country (Roberts, 1997, p. 36).

Appendix C lists some key dates in language planning in South Africa between 1822 and 1996 to provide perspective on the history of language in education. The following describes the situation for the various groups between 1948, when the Nationalist Party was elected, and 1976, the year of the Soweto uprising.

Separate Education Systems

Primary and Secondary Education

During apartheid, separate education systems and institutions were established for black, coloured,[5] Indian, and white populations (see Appendix G for population figures and other facts of interest on South Africa). Each system was administered by its own provincial government department. When apartheid broke down in 1994, civil servants were guaranteed their positions until the second presidential election (D. Ayliff, personal communication, January 1999). Thus, there is a tremendous surplus of people still employed and drawing salaries from education. The system should become more streamlined after the June 1999 election.

Past policies for schooling of white, Indian, and black people are described below. There is little written about the coloured population and interviewees tended to focus on education for blacks. The policy for coloured people was, presumably, similar to that for blacks.

Education for Whites

Schools for whites were known as "Model C" schools. In line with Afrikaaner demands, white students could choose to go to a school with either English or Afrikaans as the MOI. However, students had to study and pass both languages to matriculate. This was not necessarily in the pupils' interest but to perpetuate the Afrikaans language (Roberts, 1997, p. 35).

Education for Indians

The Indian Education Act of 1965 gave power to the Minister of Indian Affairs to determine school language policy. Parents could choose English or Afrikaans as the MOI. Most chose English. Indian languages were offered as school subjects. This policy too was designed to assure white domination (Roberts, 1997, p. 35).

[5] Coloured South Africans include people from mixed marriages. Some people also classify Malays, Muslims, and Chinese as coloured.

Education for Blacks

Until 1976 missionaries were the primary educators of blacks. However, because of religious and philosophical differences between the missionaries and the ruling apartheid government, the National Party cut support, which in effect shut down missionary schools and the state took over black education. These schools became known as "DET" (Department of Education) schools (K. Saycell, personal communication, March 1999). It is interesting to note that many people who attended mission schools are considered very well educated and are fluent in English as well as their mother tongue. In fact, Nelson Mandela matriculated from a Methodist Boarding School (Mandela, 1994).

The apartheid education philosophy as outlined in Article 15 of the Institute for Christian National Education stated that there would be no equality between blacks and whites, and there would be segregation of the two groups. The recommendations that made up what became known as "Bantu Education" were outlined in the 1949 Eiselin Commission and included the following:

- All education should be in MT for the first 4 years of school. (The commission recommended that this be extended to 8 years). Note that this promoted separateness amongst black peoples and supported the state's "divide and rule" philosophy, emphasizing tribalism and ethnicity.

- Terminology committees would be established for the development of lexical items in African languages.

- Black, white, and Indian teachers' first language would be used in teacher training.

- One of the two official languages would be introduced in the second year of schooling.

- One official language (English or Afrikaans) would be compulsory in secondary school (Hartshorne, 1990, in Roberts, 1997, p. 34).

The final recommendation was not followed. Instead, the "50/50 rule," ensuring that both English and Afrikaans were taught in DET schools was implemented (Roberts, 1997, p. 34). "This ensured that Afrikaans had a prominent role in black schools and was not relegated to the position of a third language" (Hartshorne in Roberts, 1997, p. 34). Many students could not cope with the transition to education in a second language. This ultimately reduced their employment opportunities to unskilled labour.

The conflict over supremacy of language, English or Afrikaans, was a major part of the Bantu education policy of the past. Teachers, parents, students, and the ANC viewed Bantu education as an oppressive policy that would prevent their children's full economic participation in society. They recognized MOI as an important factor in the struggle against the policy and exerted increasing pressure regarding their dissatisfaction with language policies. The government's proposal of an examination in both languages for promotion to secondary school after only one year's exposure to instruction led to the June 16, 1976 Soweto uprising. (Roberts, 1997, p. 34; Pandor, 1995, p. 59). Resistance spread and lives were lost over language. The uprising was the

beginning of people's awareness of the effect of language on society, culture, politics, and economics.

Official use or development of African languages for education was never properly addressed by the apartheid government. Instead, policies were designed to develop the status of Afrikaans and English (Pandor, 1995, p. 59). This has had serious attitudinal consequences (Samuels, 1995, p. 75). Although, the new government has attempted to change this shortcoming, the majority of parents seem to have another agenda for their children—English.

Tertiary Education

South African universities, technikons, and colleges were similarly divided along racial lines during apartheid. That is, black and coloured students, Indians, and whites each went to different tertiary educational institutions (TEIs). In the early 1980s, the government imposed quotas on the number of black students who could enter white TEIs.

The prestigious, well-resourced white universities included those using English as the MOI and others using Afrikaans as the MOI. While there was always a small quota of black, coloured, and Indian students allowed to attend traditionally white TEIs in South Africa, typically those students represented a privileged minority (Pandor, 1995, p. 60). These were often the children of people in government, or students who had received a year or more at other institutions that had done much of their academic preparatory skills building. Those institutions included white universities in smaller centres, the University of South Africa (Unisa), the distance education institution, and historically black universities (HBUs).

According to Chrissie Boughey (personal communication, February 9, 1999), HBUs were set up to keep people in the "homelands" and provide the impression that government was educating all people in the country. Because they were isolated, these institutions can still be quite conservative (A. Knott, personal communication, February 1, 1999). In addition, Boughey says that they are increasingly poorly resourced and reported to have a lesser quality of education. Some think that HBUs will not survive and that today anyone who can afford to attend a different TEI will not attend an HBU.[6]

Later, in 1978, Vista University was set up to educate blacks in urban area townships. Vista has several urban area locations as well as a distance education facility in Pretoria. The initial intention for establishing it was still racial division. Some working at Vista say that students are not prepared for academic study in English when they enroll. At the HBUs and Vista as well as white TEIs, ill-preparedness of black or under-represented students for tertiary study remains an issue.

[6] A few more points on HBUs: Apparently, they are built in a way that discourages groups of students from meeting together, presumably for fear (in the past) that they would form anti-government resistance groups on campus. HBUs were (and still are) heavily staffed by academics from Afrikaans universities who were paid a travel allowance and isolation pay (which students called "danger money") for living and working in the homelands.

One wonders why universities populated by presumably forward-thinking academics did not oppose the effect of the apartheid regime in their institutions more strongly. One likely reason was funding. Typically, Afrikaans universities were heavily funded by the apartheid government, while English universities, to some degree, received both government funding and funding from other sources. Thus, the English universities operated somewhat independently of government and could make their own policy decisions more easily. In fact, as time went on, some institutions (e.g., University of Capetown, Port Elizabeth Technikon, and others) did defy government restrictions and ignored the black student quotas. The Afrikaans universities, however, were often forced to conform to apartheid policies or risk financial hardship. Now that the government has changed, Afrikaans universities are mostly bilingual English-Afrikaans (Swanepoel, 1996, p. 5), and the remainder of the TEIs teach academic subjects primarily in English.

Today, students of all backgrounds entering TEIs are interested in a career path (M. Paxton, personal communication, February 1999), and university programs are changing to meet this demand. Paxton, who teaches academic literacy at the University of Capetown, says that because previously disadvantaged students are so anxious to succeed, they are ignoring their languages and traditions in favour of English. In their assignments students sometimes write about their embarrassment of cultural rituals, leading to a concern that the university generation will lose its traditions and cultural values. Paxton notes that family ties are strong, and it is the older people in communities who are maintaining African culture. As we will see later in this paper, it is the young generation, however, who must ensure ongoing maintenance of language and culture.

Inferior Education for the Majority

Education for the black, Indian, and coloured students who comprised about 87% of the population was inferior for a number of reasons. A major reason affecting those students' success in higher education was the accepted school pedagogy, which stressed discipline and was product-based. It also promoted rote learning, rather than experiential or active teaching and learning, the development of critical thinking, formulation of abstract notions, and independent inquiry. Also, schools for black and coloured students especially were poorly resourced with less qualified teachers. In addition, neither students nor teachers spoke the MOI (English or Afrikaans) well enough to allow academic subjects to be taught in that language. Final senior matriculation examinations tested factual knowledge rather than higher level cognitive skills. Thus, even if students did have access to tertiary educational institutions, they were not academically prepared. Yet, however inappropriate the matriculation examinations were and still are, they are viewed by some as necessary to maintain South Africa's reputation for high standards of education (M. Bizzell, personal communication, March 1999). We now take a closer look at how education has changed in post-apartheid South Africa and how it relates to English.

The Present

Since the breakdown of apartheid, a number of government acts (discussed later) have been developed to overcome inequities brought on by apartheid in education. However, inequality still exists for three reasons. The first reason is related to the carry-over of past apartheid philosophies. The second is related to the value of knowing the language(s) of power. The third is related to economic realities resulting from the apartheid years.

Regarding the carry-over of past apartheid policies and the value of knowing the language of power, Samuel (1998, 576) notes that

> the outcomes of these policies still live on in post apartheid South Africa because even many of the oppressed have internalised and naturalised these ideologies. Many Black South Africans were duped into believing that to be educated was to be able to speak English and Afrikaans....Understandably, many African language speakers valued the passport to prosperity that English and Afrikaans offered. A major challenge facing the reconstruction of the South African education system, therefore, is to address the distorted supremacist conceptions of individual racial, linguistic, and cultural heritages; to confront the premises underlying existing teachers' ritualised practices of disempowerment; and to provide a mirror for ideas that have become entrenched in educators' and pupils' minds about their own practices and capabilities.

While Samuel's solutions may be valid, given the poverty that exists today amongst the South African majority and given the economic power of English, the situation has become extremely complex. People have internalized the view that while their languages are the vehicles of communication in the home and in communities, they in fact may be barriers to educational advancement (Samuels, 1995, p. 78; Pandor, 1995, p. 60). They regard English as a major factor in gaining the economic stability they need to first meet their basic needs and ultimately improve their lives. Further, people are aware that English-medium schools play a central role in helping their children develop good English language abilities (A. Knott, personal communication, February 1, 1999). In spite of a constitution and new policies that promote multilingualism, this is an understandable priority for people living in poverty. Arguments promoting multilingualism and multiculturalism are not convincing people who have been denied access to economic opportunities. Rather, efforts encouraging black people to maintain their language and culture are often viewed with suspicion[7] as ways that perpetuate racial divisions and oppression.

Many experiences in people's daily lives confirm their view of the importance of English. At the international level and in business, English will be the dominant language in South Africa for some time to come. It is at the local level that South Africa must first find compromises to provide MT education because it is psychologically advantageous for young children. Later the nation must find a way to include the

[7] Many black people are suspicious of anything suggested by whites because of the history of apartheid.

African languages to open economic and cultural opportunities to the majority of the population who speak them (Schmied, 1995, p. 50).

The Current Choice for English-Medium Schools

"The heritage of apartheid education may make it difficult for parents and politicians alike to support mother-tongue education in the first few years of school and maintain additional bililingualism later" (Reagan in Schmied, 1995, p. 510). As people can afford it, they are moving their children from former DET schools into former Model C schools. This is partly because parents see that the swift switch from MT to English in grade 5 is failing. They think that their children will succeed if they start learning in English from grade 1 (A. Lemmer, personal communication, February 1999). In addition, parents think that moving their children not only ensures greater facility in English but also better quality education in general. This is true of families in rural as well as urban areas. Lemmer says that few people living in villages choose to stay there; they want to get out and learn English to improve their lives. Samuels (1995), however, stresses that "parents and teachers are going to have to be persuaded that a policy of multilingualism rather than one of subtractive bi- or multilingualism is a better strategy in the long run and that they have to resist the 'common sense' notion of English only or even English mainly" (p. 81).

The influx of non-English speakers, including Afrikaans speakers, to English-medium schools is changing the nature of teaching and learning in those schools. For example, in English-medium schools non-English speakers are becoming the majority, so the syllabus is becoming a second language syllabus (G. Barkhuizen, personal communication, February 1999) and students no longer benefit from learning in an English speaking context. This defeats the purpose of mixed classrooms (V. de Klerk, personal communication, February 1999). This shift is exacerbated by English speaking parents removing their children and sending them to even more expensive schools, including exclusive private schools[8] so that their children are not held back by those moving in (K. van Heerden and V. de Klerk, personal communications, February 1999). Tuitions to these schools can be in excess of 7000 Rand (CDN $1750) plus the cost of textbooks and extracurricular activities. Some parents are also resorting to home schooling. Van Heerden points out that while funding has been systematically withdrawn from advantaged schools, there has been no equivalent increase of funding to disadvantaged schools.

Students at TEIs choose English as the MOI because it opens economic opportunities, crosses cultural boundaries, and is best-suited for tertiary study (Semake, Maphumula, Shongwe, & Cannon, 1996). Martha Semake (1996), a Setswana-speaking commerce student at Unisa, describes why she prefers English as the MOI: "I believe that I am a child of a new generation, living in a forever-changing world and I cannot continue to be taught in languages that will never prepare me for whatever the changing country that I find myself in is now bringing" (p. 70). However, some South African students also voice concerns regarding disruptions to their own identities caused by the power of

[8] It is intersting that some of the people sending their children to these exclusive schools are the very officials who devised the multilingual policy (Kamwangamalu, 1995, p. 90), which is discussed later in this paper.

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English and the culture that accompanies it. At the same time, however, they are also aware that those who easily fit into the culture of English are within a circle of privilege (Kapp, 1998, p. 23–24) and will succeed within the culture of educational institutions and beyond.

In countries such as India English is seen as "essential for upward mobility and social and economic success" (Sheorey, 1998, p. 19) both at home and internationally. In India, too, English was a colonial language. Yet an Indian researcher wonders "if today's younger generation of Indians secretly thank their stars that their erstwhile rulers left behind a globally useful language like English rather than, say, French or Italian" (Sheorey, 1998, p. 19). In addition to the fact that students want to study in English, Heese (1996) notes that the African languages currently lack the vocabulary and resources for tertiary study.

Education, Economics, and Disarray

South African education today is no longer perpetuated along racial lines but along one's ability to pay for it. While government is making efforts to improve the education system, divisions between people, initially resulting from apartheid, continue today in great force.

It is interesting to note that a full 20% of South Africa's national budget is allocated to education. This money goes to the provinces for expenditures on education (K. Saycell, personal communication, March 1999). However, each of the previous separate education systems had its own provincial government department and administrative structure. When apartheid ended, civil servants were guaranteed their positions until the second democratic election (H. Alfers, personal communication, February 1999), which was held June 2, 1999. As a result, there has been a tremendous surplus of people employed and drawing salaries from education. What is left over is allocated for teachers' salaries in the large number of schools that exist (and those that do not exist![8]). In some cases, the province may also pay for resources, such as textbooks and paper. However, stories of disorganization and corruption are common.[9] Unlike Canada, where primary and secondary education are totally state supported, in South Africa it is up to parents to supplement state financial support in order to ensure that schools are resourced: the more parents pay, the more likely the teacher speaks English well, the better equipped a school is, the better the teachers are, and the better instruction results. As long as parents are allowed to subsidize schools, there will never be equal standards (K. van Heerden, personal communication, February 1999) and poor people will continue to receive inadequate education. Even if poor people could find the money to pay for some additional resources, the culture of non-payment that exists[10]

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[8] A large number of "ghost schools" are reported—schools that are being issued salary cheques, which are being cashed, but school inspectors have found that no such schools exist! (G. Barkhuizen, personal communication, February 1999).

[9] For example, in one province one government department refused the tender recommendation of another government department to supply paper to the schools. The recommended tender was dropped in favour of one that had not even submitted an estimate, and the paper supply never arrived at the schools. In another province, 1998 senior matriculation results were tampered with.

[10] The culture of non-payment is a result of the apartheid years. In some instances, government paid to cover the basic needs of blacks. Where blacks were required to pay for services such as

prevents them from paying for what they think should be free (A. Lemmer, personal communication, February 1999; K. Saycell, personal communication, March 1999). This means, of course that only those who have the money to access good secondary education will be prepared for tertiary education. Since those who graduate with higher degrees obtain the best employment, the potential for the cycle of poverty to continue is extremely high.

Across South Africa, then, one sees a range of schools from private[11] urban schools in solid buildings on beautiful, enclosed grounds to serve (in English) the very wealthy, even the rich from abroad, to overcrowded makeshift shacks with craters in the floors and walls and insufficient resources[12] serving the poor, many of whom live in squatters' camps.[13] The range of teaching skills is similarly divergent (Versfeld, 1998). Through "retrenchment and redeployment"[14] efforts to at least equalize the student-teacher ratio are being addressed. However, by the time schools know their enrollment figures, most teachers have already been placed. In addition, the best-educated teachers are picked off by the richest schools, so the educational quality of township schools remains poor (A. Lemmer, personal communication, February 1999). There is no flexible redeployment to ensure, for instance that fluent teachers of South African languages teach in rich as well as poor schools (N. Alexander, personal communication, January 16, 1999). However some teachers will quit teaching before moving to dangerous areas to teach. Finally, retrenchment and redeployment does not deal with the lack of resources. The result is that overcrowded schools remain overcrowded, poorly resourced, and with the least qualified and least experienced teachers, many of whom must teach academic subjects in English in spite of their lack of ability in the language. In rural areas, particularly, access to English is poor, primarily because of inadequate teacher training and logistical problems. In these cases, most academic content is actually taught in the students' and teachers' MT (A. Lemmer, personal communication, February 1999).

And there is more to the story. The organization of the school system is still extremely hierarchical—according to Bizell (personal communication, March 1999) the

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water, they often simply refused as a protest against the apartheid system, although water was not cut off for sanitation reasons. However, a culture of non-payment arose to the extent that even today people are not used to paying for services. In addition, they see nonpayment as a way to hoodwink the government (K. Saycell, personal communication, March 1999). Of course, the difficulty today is that there is no longer a white apartheid government, but a black one that is trying to improve conditions. Non-payment means the new government has additional expenses that it can ill-afford.

[11] Even though government funding of private schools is being cut (K. van Heerden, personal communication, February 1999) the number of these schools that are opening to serve to serve the interests of a small group is not decreasing (V. de Klerk, personal communication, February 1999).

[12] "Insufficient resources" is an understatement. I observed classes where one teacher instructed 90 students who had to sit three to a rickety desk and share books. There was little or no paper to write on. I even heard of one school that had no toilet facilities!

[13] Some refer to these as "informal settlements." I prefer this description, which more accurately provides a vivid image of how they look and why people are living in them.

[14] Redeployment and retrenchment are military terms and refer to South African government efforts for greater cost efficiency in the education system. Many educators believe that these efforts are short-sighted because in the long run there will be a shortage of teachers. In addition, many teachers in rich, urban schools are unwilling to move to rural schools or poor schools in dangerous areas. These teachers are taking severance packages. Thus, some of the best-qualified and most-experienced teachers are being lost to the education system and in some cases to the country.

government harasses supervisors, the supervisors harass the principals, the principals harass the teachers, and the teachers harass the students. Morale is low. Reports abound of teachers and administrators in poor schools who do not attend regularly. Reasons for this vary. Some say that because the principal is often absent, there is no discipline for teachers who miss school without good reason. Others say that teachers are demoralized. Still others say that poor schools are most often in dangerous areas and teachers may be afraid to attend. Indeed, many schools are closed off from the communities they serve by brick walls or chain-link fences and razor wire.

Further, administration in schools in poor areas is in disarray. Because of disorganization, poor schools may have the number of teaching days reduced by as much as a month. This is because teaching days are used for time tabling, exams are earlier, and students do not go back to school after exam time because they think they are finished when exams are over. Schools may also close at the drop of a hat, and in some provinces, paycheques are delayed.

Indian and Coloured Education and Afrikaans Today

The current situation with coloured and Indian people is much less discussed in the literature than the situation with blacks. This is perhaps because South African Indians often already speak English well, although Samuel notes that languages, such as Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, and Gujerati are being spoken less and less in South Africa (Samuel, 1998, p. 577). Also, although in the past, Indian schools were deprived, they were not as deprived as coloured and black (DET) schools. This might be because Indians have some financial resources to supplement their schools.

Coloured South Africans are in a situation similar to blacks. In the past, they usually attended schools where the MOI was Afrikaans.[15] Now that there is a black government, many coloured South Africans seem resentful of the opportunities, including educational opportunities, being given to the black majority. Some feel that they are being forgotten and will end up as the most disadvantaged people in the nation.

With regards to Afrikaans in schools, there are two movements: "the first has been a racist-inspired move to retain monolingual, independent Afrikaans schools; the second has been a steady trickle of Afrikaans-speaking children to English-medium schools" (de Klerk, 1998, p. 254). De Klerk adds that whether the shift to English-medium schools is motivated by parents' concerns regarding degenerating standards of education or is the result of "shift in language allegiance," will ultimately effect the linguistic identities of the children (de Klerk, 1998, p. 254). Attitudes toward English at all levels of instruction, K–A, is straining other South African languages. De Klerk (personal communication, February 1999) is currently conducting research into this phenomenon at the primary school level to determine exactly how much effect language shift is having on language abandonment.

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[15] Afrikaans is an old version of Dutch spoken exclusively in South Africa. Speakers of modern Dutch can read much of Afrikaans but cannot easily understand spoken Afrikaans. Today there are more coloured people than whites who speak Afrikaans as a MT.

In addition to all of the above, there are some who believe that historical animosities still exist in South Africa. I heard statements like: "The Anglo-Boer War is still on." This, too, has an impact on education and multilingualism. For instance, during apartheid, separate English and Afrikaans organizations were set up in all areas, including education. Thus, for example, there were two applied linguistics organizations, one Afrikaans and one English. The language allegiance of the organization, English or Afrikaans, affected the organization's attitude, philosophy, and so on. This separation still exists today. Without a coming together, any positive contributions of these organizations will be difficult.

Educational Policies of the New Government

> *From the perspective of effective and meaningful education...the separation of planning and implementation is neither possible nor desirable. Language and education are highly political because they involve significant outcomes for people's lives and futures* (Watson-Greco and Watson Greco, 1995, p. 59).

Major legislative policy changes occurred in South Africa between 1994 and 1997, signaling the intentions of the new state. Appendix B includes constitutional documents. Appendix C provides key dates in the history of language planning in South Africa.

Samuel (1998, p. 578) lists the following post-apartheid policies as those most affecting education:

- *White Paper on Education and Training* (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 1995)—projects the vision of a reconstructed education system
- *Schools Education Act 1995* (Department of Education, 1995)—regulates process of school governance and funding
- *South African Qualifications Authority Act* (1995)—legislates a common qualifications framework for education and training
- *Norms and Standards for Teacher Education* (Committee on Teacher Education Policy, 1996)—outlines a reconceived teacher education curriculum
- Curriculum 2005—describes a shift from product-based rote learning to outcomes-based education and active learning. Additive bilingualism designed to promote bilingual diversity is part of this policy (Committee on Teacher Education Policy, 1996; Musker, 1997)

Of greatest concern to this study is the multilingual policy enshrined in South Africa's constitution. This policy is designed to acknowledge the nation's commitment to

diversity and empowerment, and at the same time to build national unity (Samuels, 1995, p. 75; Pandor, 1995, p. 57; Kamwangamalu, 1995, p. 92). Because language shapes national identity, ways of thinking, learning, communicating, and sharing of ideas, linguistic and minority language rights are currently at the forefront (Pandor, 1995, p. 58). South Africa's new language policy is intended to address these factors.

The new policy gives equal status to the following 11 languages: English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Sesotho, Sepedi, Zulu, Ndebele, Tsonga, Venda, Tswana, and Swati.[16] Section 3 (1) of the policy states that these languages "shall be the official South African languages at national level, and conditions shall be created for their development and for the promotion of their equal use and enjoyment." This means that everyone should insist on government officials using their languages, for example, in public addresses and publications (Pandor, 1995, p. 67). The constitution does not stop with the recognition of its official languages. Section 3 (10) demonstrates the country's commitment to multilingualism and multiculturalism in its support to other language groups in the country: "The Pan South African Language Board (PSALB) shall be responsible for promoting respect for and the development of German, Greek, Gujerati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu, and other languages used by communities in South Africa, as well as Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes" (Pandor, 1995, p. 64).

The policy calls for development of the official languages, so that presumably they could be used for teaching academic subjects at a tertiary level. There is some question on the feasibility of this policy (Culver, 1996, p.19). Nevertheless, according to Roberts (personal communication, January 1999), the policy provides positive and practical measures to elevate the nine South African languages that previously had no status. It also takes a tremendous amount of power away from Afrikaans (de Klerk, 1998). Although English is only one of 11 officially recognized languages, as an international language English by default maintains the highest status.

The challenge, of course, is to "guard against the hegemony of English and, at the same time...to spread knowledge of this language more effectively if we wish to draw disadvantaged communities into the mainstream of South African society" (Culver, 1996, p. 16). Along with this is the challenge of maintenance of the country's other official languages.

A Brief Analysis of the Language Policy

Language policy is one of the first decisions that new multilingual nations such as South Africa formally address in their constitutions. This is because language shapes so many aspects of life including distribution of power, employment, and internal and international economics. Usually, one or two languages are selected to administer multilingual countries or organizations as, for example, in the European Union (Schmied, 1995, p. 50). In fact, South Africa will not utilize all of its official languages equally; most likely English will be the common language in the most dominant circles such as government and business.

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[16] For details on these languages, check the website <(http://www.cyberserv.co.za/users/~jako/lang/index.htm)>

In multilingual nations, governments must do more than simply recognize multilingualism in their constitutions. There must be a clear message supported by adequate resources that promoting all official languages is a priority.

> In a well-supported environment, resources will be devoted to helping people have access to the language and to learn it, through the media, libraries, schools, and institutes of higher education. There will be an increase in the number and quality of teachers able to teach the language. Books, tapes, computers, telecommunication systems and all kinds of teaching materials will be increasingly available. In many countries, however, lack of government support, or a shortage of foreign aid, has hindered the achievement of language-teaching goals. (Crystal, 1997, p. 6)

In South Africa, this environment may not exist for all 11 official languages, partly because the purse was empty when the new government took over.[17] However, a pluralist intent is stated in the constitution. The policy implies that now it is not only the English and Afrikaans communities that have the right to lobby for their languages. And today everyone should insist their government officials use their languages, for example, in public addresses and publications (Pandor, 1995, p. 67-68).

Varying attitudes to multicultural policies exist. Some argue that the existence of a number of ethnic groups and cultures is unrealistic and over-ambitious (Culver, 1996, p. 20; Pandor, 1995, p. 58). They say that multilingualism and perhaps even more so multiculturalism are, in fact, divisive within a nation. Indeed conflicts have confirmed that this is true of countries such as South Africa, Kosovo, Ireland, Israel, and even Canada. However, it can be argued that resistance against the political dominance of Afrikaans did as much to unite divergent ethnic groups in South Africa as multilingualism is apt to do (Culver, 1996, p. 20). Still others see multilingualism as a way to confront the linguistic imperialism that has held them back and to finally give people the "opportunity to demand language rights" (Pandor, 1995, p. 58).

Many agree that it is a liability to know only English in South Africa because the country needs increased cross-cultural understanding in order to develop its own national identity (N. Alexander, personal communication, February 16, 1999). Furthermore, an economy based only on English is unrealistic in a country where over 38 million people would need to learn what is now a language spoken by the minority.

Implementation of the multilingual policy is the key. It is too costly for any country to develop more than two or three official languages (Culver, 1996; Samuels, 1995, p. 77). Culver argues that by promoting too many languages "the 'language [English] as a right' policy runs the risk of degenerating into a toleration of multilingualism which effectively means that smaller languages will not be actively oppressed but also not be

[17] When it came to power, the new government of South Africa expected to inherit a large reserve of money with which it would rebuild the country. However, the cost of running several levels of government associated with the apartheid system broke the country financially. Apartheid also resulted in international economic sanctions that caused further financial pressures and debt. Added to this situation is a huge population that is too poor to pay taxes. All this leaves the South African government under great financial pressure.

actively developed. This usually means that smaller languages are allowed to die peacefully" (Culver, 1996, p. 22–23). Thus, financial assistance must be provided, especially to academics, writers, and publishers, to help develop African languages (Samuels, 1995, p. 77; Pandor, 1995, p. 69). Samuels (1995, p. 79) says that in addition, South Africans must become more of a reading culture. This necessitates commitment to a national literacy campaign.

Culver (1996) points out that South Africa's pluralist approach gives credence to the concept that "it is civilized to be multilingual"—that the western notion of monolingualism is not the "height of civilization" (Pandor, 1995, p. 71). Linguistic pluralism has been successful in some nations (e.g., Switzerland), but those nations have nowhere near 11 official languages. Also, with the exception of English and Afrikaans, the other official languages need to be developed for use outside the home and community. Culver notes that much of the responsibility for planning and implementation must come from speech communities themselves. Still, educational institutions have taken on a large part of the challenge, but it is not proving to be an easy one as is illustrated in the next section. In fact, it is unfair to place so much of the responsibility for policy implementation onto education (Samuels, 1995, p. 81). Rather the entire society, including government, business, the media, and so on must become involved (Kamwangamalu, 1995, p. 98).

Policy Implementation in Educational Institutions

Policy Implementation at the School Level

The approach taken to implement South Africa's multilingual policy is commendable on one the hand and problematic on the other. Schools have the responsibility to select at least one official language as the MOI for their school (they may select two or more, if they so choose, e.g., English, Afrikaans, and Xhosa) and produce a formal policy to be approved by their school governing body (B. Burkett and Roberts, personal communications, January 1999). This approach is laudable because it gives schools a high degree of control and autonomy. The difficulty is that a large number of schools are not knowledgeable in policy development and are unaware of the potential interpretations and political repercussions of their decisions. Also, there is no timeline for South African policy development. And, there are no standard guidelines or even suggestions for how policies are to be presented. Thus, there is a discrepancy between official language policy and practical application (Kamwangamalu, 1995, p. 93). Examples of efforts in Eastern Cape and Gauteng are provided in Appendix D (as of January 1999).

Policy Implementation in TEIs

Tertiary educational institutions (TEIs) are also expected to develop policies, but again with no specific timelines or guidelines. TEIs, however, do have greater expertise in formulating policy.

TEIs have representative fora to develop policy. Such fora are comprised of stakeholders such as unions, women's groups, senate (equivalent to our academic

council), management, students, the black forum, etc. Recently, government has directed each TEI to establish a Transformation Forum to ensure that policies reflect the intent of the country's new constitution and that all vestiges of apartheid policy are obliterated (K. van Heerden, personal communication, February 1999). The Transformation Forum is, of course, actively involved in monitoring and in some cases developing each institution's language policy.

TEIs appear to be in various stages in developing their language policy. Swanepoel (1996, p. 3) identified the following nine patterns of thought that are likely to guide language policy makers: (1) regard for the constitution; (2) multilingualism; (3) non-isolationism; (4) students' preference; (5) short- and long-term strategies; (6) non-rigidity; (7) language and literature as resource; (8) cost-effectiveness; (9) circumspection. The factors affecting language policy at TEIs that were most evident to me were students' preference (most choose English as the MOI) and cost-effectiveness. Cost-effectiveness greatly affected the interpretation of policies deliberately left flexible, so that approval would be more likely.

The process of language policy development is highly political at most institutions, so some may be avoiding making tough decisions. For instance, a faculty member at one institution went so far as to say that black academics suspect that the multilingual policy is a way to perpetuate the status quo, not a way to elevate their languages. They approve of a policy of English-only as it is an effective way to obliterate Afrikaans, the language that to them stands for the apartheid regime. Further, blacks are frustrated that whites continue to speak on their behalf. The development process of language policies at Port Elizabeth Technikon and Rhodes University are included in Appendix E to demonstrate the complexity of the process and the approaches that are being taken.

During my time in South Africa, Port Elizabeth Technikon (PET) was the only TEI that I encountered with a formalized multilingual policy (K. van Heerden, personal communication, February 1999), although there may have been others. In many TEIs, lively debate on their multilingual policy continues. For example, after initial opposition of Council, Unisa has finally reworded its policy so that English becomes the language of internal communication with "functional multilingualism" in the four languages of most of their students (in this case, English, Afrikaans, Zulu, and Sotho). Functional multilingualism means that where it is practical, students will be accommodated. The problem with the policy, according to Rosalie Finlayson (personal communication, March 1999) is that whether or not something is practical is highly debatable, especially when factoring in cost. For instance, allowing students to write exams in a language other than English may be disallowed on the grounds that the institution is not able to pay for a marker well-versed in both the academic content and the language, if such a person even exists. And, as is already the case at Unisa, printing the academic calendar in all four languages is not practical because of the cost.

Other TEIs have completed a draft of their language policy, but not yet received approval. These drafts will often support one language as MOI with functional multilingualism for two or more others (e.g., Johannesburg College of Education). Pretoria University has an ad hoc committee looking at a dual medium (English and Afrikaans) policy. In fact, according to Victor Webb (personal communication, March 1999), most historically Afrikaans universities have become dual medium with the exception of the University of Stellenbosh, which is Afrikaans by law.

With concerns for their very survival,[18] it is no wonder that some TEIs have not yet addressed language policy. In the meantime, they are simply stating that they are either an English or Afrikaans institution and do not yet have a formal policy specifying how they support multilingualism.

Implementing Other New Educational Policies

The country is also struggling, to actualize other educational policies, many of which involve language education. For example, the goal of the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) is an open, integrated, unified education system. This includes standardizing curricula, specifying learning outcomes, and collaborating with other institutions (A. Knott, personal communication, February 1, 1999). However, SAQA is not yet in place 4 years after it was proposed (K. Saycell, personal communication, March 1999). SAQA's goal of collaboration is a distant dream at present. This is because educational institutions have a culture of autonomy (A. Knott and P. Beneke, personal communications, February–March 1999), partly because of apartheid. They do not seem to trust or respect each other and focus on turf protection more than collaboration, in spite of the benefits. Also, educators, primarily teachers, are threatened by approaches such as outcomes-based education (OBE) and additive language education outlined in the Curriculum 2005 policy. Some do not understand it. Others are unqualified or lack the confidence to practise it. None have been educated themselves in that manner. Teachers need practical knowledge along with an understanding of approaches that are new to them. (M. Bizzell, personal communication, March 1999). Finally, while policy regulates governance and funding, corruption still runs rampant, impairing what could be an efficient education system.

What will expedite policy implementation appears to be a combination of factors. Most important is a collective will and understanding amongst politicians, educators, and society to work toward the common goal of reversing the educational oppression and "linguistic imperialism of the former apartheid official languages [especially]. This is problematic given that English [especially] and Afrikaans are languages of better life opportunities....The promotion of multilingual teaching and learning...is arguably seen by some quarters as yet another opportunity to keep the previously disempowered black population from bettering their life conditions" (Samuel, 1998, p. 579).

Since June 1999 an ANC government has been elected. It will be interesting to see if there are any changes to current language and education policies and if more concrete implementation guidelines and support are forthcoming.

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[18] South African TEIs are concerned with their survival because it is said that there are too many TEIs and that some will close down.

Repercussions on Teaching English and on Language Maintenance in South Africa

> *We live on the African continent. For this reason, if for no other, the African languages, which are spoken by the majority of the people, will sooner or later become languages of high status in this country* (Alexander, 1996).

Impact of New Government Policies on South African Classrooms Today

There has been little actual change in classrooms in disadvantaged areas since post-apartheid government policies have been in effect. Implementation of the multilingual policy by schools (see Appendices B and C) has had little effect upon the teaching of English and on the promotion of multilingualism thus far. While the majority of schools are selecting English as the MOI, many teachers, especially in poor and rural areas, still do not speak English well. Consequently, most of the classes are still conducted at least partially in a language other than English. Today, many students who have matriculated from these schools still have very weak English language skills. Because of this, they have not learned academic subjects well and thus have developed few of the capacities required for further study or full participation in the economy.

Teacher Education

The Needs

Teacher educators agree that in addition to poor English language skills, teachers do not feel equipped to teach communicatively because they do not have the training, resources or good models of communicative language teaching (Samuel, 1998; Pandor, 1995, p. 60; Mgobozi, personal communication, February 1999). Samuel (1998) advocates large-scale reskilling via in-service teacher education as well as changes in pre-service and in-service teacher education curriculum to address "the changing conceptions of the teacher as curriculum developer, the changing conceptions of language learning as the development of communicative competence in a variety of languages, and the issues of power relations among the different languages within South African society"(p. 79). He writes that this will involve the re-education of approximately 360,000 teachers who are "products of the iniquitous apartheid education system"[19] (p. 79).

Samuel (1998) criticizes teacher education in South Africa, stating that teacher education institutions are "perhaps the least organized group of stakeholders within the education system" (p. 581). He stresses the need for collaboration to reconstruct

[19] Only whites in past could afford teaching degrees. Black and coloured people who wanted to become teachers would generally get a two- or three-year college certificate. Those teachers are now trying to gain a Further Diploma in Education (FDE), which will then allow them to enter degree credit courses. It should be noted that many of these teachers have many years of teaching experience that goes unrecognized.

teacher education. He is also hard on curriculum design and state policies:

> The ambitious curriculum designs of state policies often give lip service to the specific realities and histories that the different schooling contexts currently have to cope with: underdeveloped human and physical resources, the entrenchment of ritualised practices of teaching and learning, the poor administration and management of the curriculum renewal process, the inability of the teacher educators to reconceptualise their role as promoters of alternative visions of teaching and learning, the arrogance of teacher educators who value theoretical knowledge above the practical knowledge of teachers, and unreflective teachers who dismiss the value of theory. (Samuel, 1998, p. 581)

Many of his criticisms are valid. It is evident, for instance, that adequate resources are not being allocated to teaching and teacher education. Political expediency still takes precedence over education. It also appears that collaboration amongst teacher education institutions is rare. Also, a number of teacher education institutions, primarily colleges, are being closed across South Africa, in spite of the need for retraining. Many educators think the current oversupply of teachers is causing a temporary drop in enrollments to teacher education and that there will be a return to the profession in the near future (S. Emslie, personal communication, March 1999). Because of the various education systems during apartheid, it may take time to sort out the various teaching contexts and appropriate teacher education to go with them (N. Mgobozi, personal communication, February 1999). Mgobozi, a Xhosa language teacher, is cognizant of the value of theory. However, she disagrees with Samuel, saying that teachers must be empowered with practical skills that are useful in the classroom as well as with theory.

With regard to language education specifically, the focus is on teaching English rather than the promotion of multilingualism and multiculturalism in schools. This is largely because of the demand from both parents and students. Schools do require that students learn other languages as academic subjects and must matriculate with at least two languages, one of which must be an official language. However many parents and students do not place priority on language maintenance. This is because they believe it focuses away from learning English; they do not seem concerned with language loss. In fact, if Eastern Cape students learn only Xhosa (the main language of the region) as their other official language, it ties them to the Eastern Cape, one of the country's poorest provinces (V. de Klerk, personal communication, February 1999). This extinguishes students' motivation to develop their MT for other than home use. Samuels (1995, p. 80) points to this as a cultural-political problem caused by apartheid repression. He adds that it will take decades to correct by a decisive, strong national leadership.

Samuel (1998) says student teachers need to be more critically reflective regarding multilingualism and multiculturalism:

> [They] do not always welcome the opportunity to confront their own histories. Many South Africans have been made to feel comfortable with their apartheid cultural and linguistic boxes; even those who

> realise that elevating the status of English marginalises other linguistic and racial groups often accept it unproblematically. (p. 582)

Samuel (1998) says that student teachers must go through the painful "process of critical self reflection" in order to "shed their baggage of their apartheid schooling, as they embark upon the process of changing their lives in their interactions with their fellow South Africans on the teacher education programme, and as they attempt to change the lives of the next generation of school pupils" (p. 583).

Teacher educators and many teachers are aware that in South Africa they can no longer work only from an uninformed "traditional structuralist approach" to language teaching. Pennycook (1994) advocates that the work of English language teachers worldwide must also be politically informed. South African educators are increasingly realizing the importance of language maintenance and the value of multilingualism as well as recognizing the interplay of power relations amongst the languages of South Africa. And, as more teachers receive further education in language teaching, they are also accepting the research on cognitive development that advocates MT development before introducing academic subjects in a second language (Cummins, 1989, p. 45; Ashworth, 1992, p. 40). Even UNESCO has recognized that for psychological, social, and educational reasons, MT is the best medium for educating a young child (Toohey, 1992, p. 89). In addition, educators in South Africa are recognizing that MT maintenance contributes to a students' sense of self-worth and identity. It provides opportunities to communicate with elders and others in their home communities as well as to enter the social, religious, and literary life of more than one community. However, in spite of these realizations, because parents are demanding English for their children, that is still what often becomes the agenda for teachers and consequently of teacher education.

Another deficiency related to teacher education in support of multilingualism is that many South African teachers do not speak African languages well (N. Alexander, personal communication, February 16, 1999). Furthermore, teachers have not been educated to teach those languages (Pandor, 1995, p. 66; H. Alfers, personal communication, February 1999). The structuralist approach that they still employ teaches *about* the language rather than developing communication *in* the language. This is the case at all levels of education, primary through tertiary. Alexander notes that even at the university in which he is a faculty member, he has witnessed Xhosa being taught through the medium of English. It should be stressed that multilingualism is more than the bare maintenance of African languages through studying them as subjects at school. It also means that not only teachers, as part of their training, but also learners should be gaining some fluency in at least two of the 11 official languages and learn about the richness of other cultures (A. Knott, personal communication, February 1, 1999). It is disturbing that interest in learning African languages is waning at all levels—not just amongst parents who want their children to learn English. For example, at Rhodes University in 1999, the first African Languages lecture within the Department of Linguistics drew only one student, while the first English Linguistics lecture on the same day drew over 100 (V. de Klerk, personal communication, February 1999).

Progressive Teacher Education Programs

South Africa is not without some progressive in- and pre-service teacher education programs and skilled teacher educators making efforts to carry out renewed teacher education. Examples of these are listed below. All teacher education programs would include aspects of language teaching pedagogy.

- Further Diploma in Education (FDE) programs (e.g., University of Port Elizabeth and Rhodes University, and the University of Capetown) are credit-bearing programs to upgrade teachers holding only college teaching certificates (B. Burkett and M. Hendricks, personal communications, February 1999). The School of Education at the University of Capetown, in particular, has an FDE in Multilingual Education that is designed specifically for teachers wanting to focus in this area. The Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA, discussed later) is very involved in the development and teaching of this program (N. Alexander, personal communication, February 16, 1999). The majority of the students are female primary school teachers who speak Xhosa. The program is designed in a way that supports these students so that they are more likely to complete it.[20] Alexander notes that during 1998–1999, enrollment doubled from 30 to 60 students. It is interesting to note that this FDE is partially funded by Engen, a company that has automobile service stations across South Africa.

- ELTIC, a non-governmental education trust, offers a distance delivered multilingual learning program for teachers at any level and regardless of qualification. ELTIC has also published some excellent language teaching materials, including *Multilingual Learning: Working in Multilingual Classrooms* (ELTIC, 1997).

- The English Language Educational Trust (ELET) is a non-governmental, non-profit organization, dedicated to the development of English teaching where English is used as a second language. ELET works closely with teachers in their classrooms and in after-hours workshops. ELET also assists teachers in the development of teaching and learning materials that attempt to address the teachers' expressed needs. ELET extends its teacher education to rural areas, offering face-to-face courses, supervised practica, and regional tutorials. The organization holds an annual conference for language teachers and, in collaboration with the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, provides specialist English courses to teachers. ELET publishes an excellent series for teachers on teaching communicatively, which is suitable for schools in black and coloured areas and for teachers who may not be fluent in English (ELET, nd.).

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[20] The FDE in multilingual education at the University of Capetown, for example, has flexible assignments such as orals, portfolios, journals, and projects—virtually anything that will let students demonstrate that they know the material covered. Students can write their assignments in any language and are excited that they can use African languages for academic study.

- Teacher centres at TEIs such as those at the University of Capetown and Johannesburg College of Education are making significant contributions to the in-service training on topics such as outcomes based education (OBE), additive language teaching, and multilingual education. These centres also provide resources to teachers (S. Emslie and R. Versfeld, personal communications, January–March 1999) and some publish useful teacher education materials such as *Words for All: A Handbook for Teachers of Multilingual Classes* (Versfeld & Dyer, 1995).

- *Imbewu*, meaning "seed" in Xhosa is an upgrading program for primary school teachers. The program is funded by the UK but also receives South African government support. Materials are designed to help teachers become more reflective practitioners. The program includes content on planning; Curriculum 2005; developing knowledge, skills, and values; developing materials and assessment; and managing the teaching-learning process. The modules are being written for languages, math, and science. Train-the-trainer workshops use teachers who are effective change agents. Currently, the program is offered in a small number of schools but will be expanded. Managing modules are also being developed by *Imbewu* for principals, parents, and school governing bodies. In future, a follow-up program for secondary teachers will also be developed, funded by USAID, the US Agency for International Development (D. Smits, personal communication, February 12, 1999).

- National programs offered by non-profit organizations also exist. The MOLTENO Project contributes to language and literacy by conducting workshops and providing materials within schools, not only across South Africa but also in other African nations as well. MOLTENO is known for its literacy programs and for ABET (Adult Basic Education and Training), which is managed by the Unisa (D. Smits, personal communication, February 12, 1999; MOLTENO, nd). MOLTENO materials have been adapted from British literacy materials, *Break into Literacy*. The next level in the series, *Bridge to English* is available in a dozen African languages. Both series are published in the UK by Longmans.

- INSET (In-Service Teacher Education), is a non-government organization (NGO) set up in the 1980s to support teachers in township schools. However, it became dangerous to go into those schools because of politically motivated boycotts. As a result, INSET focused on farm schools[21] using MOLTENO materials, but in a less prescriptive way. This program is still in existence today, but adapted to changing needs and resources. Today, INSET is mostly a small, project-based program (D. Smits, personal communication, February 12, 1999).

- The Open Learning Systems Education Trust, (OLSET) was established in 1990 to help improve teaching especially in remote rural schools. Today, OLSET has

[21] Farm schools are small schools in rural areas that serve the children of farm workers (D. Smits, personal communication, February 1999).

daily interactive radio broadcasts[22] entitled *English in Action*. The broadcasts are intended to support teachers' English teaching in the junior primary sector (OLSET, 1999).

- Individual programs across the country, such as the Language in Learning and Teaching (LILT) program, are making a difference in the most disadvantaged schools (M. Bizzell, personal communication, March 1999). Many of these programs have various national and international funders. LILT, for example, is housed at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, funded partly by the Anglo-American Mining Company.

The survival of NGOs offering educational support is precarious because the support relies on annual grants. Prior to 1995, these programs thrived as foreign aid was paid directly to them. Now that economic sanctions have been lifted and South Africa has an internationally accepted government, foreign aid is through bilateral agreements between the government of South African and grant-providing countries. NGOs now see much less of this money so have had to cut or scale down their programs (D. Smits, personal communication, February 12, 1999). Another difficulty is that these programs usually reach only a small minority of teachers, usually near or in urban areas or who can afford to pay for some of these services.[23]

Advocates of Multilingual Education in South Africa

PRAESA

There are a group of educators in South Africa who are vocal about the need for multilingualism and multiculturalism in their nation and have suggestions for making it happen. They are The Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA), operating out of the University of Capetown. This organization, headed by Neville Alexander, is dedicated to finding alternatives that will develop and promote the use of African languages in education. Many in the country believe that PRAESA has been the most influential body in the country in the development of African languages (V. Webb, personal communication, March 1999).

The organization was formed in 1992 when it networked with the entire African continent on multilingualism in education and the maintenance of African languages. The organization sponsors conferences and workshops and is most active at the primary and pre-primary levels of education, which they see as the foundation for future years. One activity of the organization is a demonstration project on dual-medium immersion programs in two township schools (one in Xhosa-English and the other in Afrikaans-English). Other immersion programs rarely, if ever, exist in South Africa. In another program, upper-level teacher trainees who are Xhosa speakers are sent to schools to support Xhosa language courses where the teachers do not speak

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[22] OLSET uses the regional radio services of the SABC, Radio Ukhozi (Zulu), Radio Umhlobo Wenene (Xhosa) and Radio Motsweding FM (Setswana) as well as numerous community radio stations (OLSET, 1999).

[23] NGO education programs usually operate on shoestring budgets. For example, I heard of tuitions to users of under $5.00 (CDN), a fee that includes materials and coffee. Even at this low price, many teachers cannot afford to attend.

Xhosa well. The organization hopes to set up a database for those involved in the education debate in language policy (N. Alexander, personal communication, February 16, 1999). Also, PRAESA publishes updates on its programs in *PRAESA News* and publications promoting multilingualism such as *Languages In Our Schools: A Family Guide to Multilingual Education*. This educational publication for parents and the community is available in three languages: English, Afrikaans, and Xhosa.

Alexander notes that a successful model of multilingualism in South Africa will have a global influence. The example of Europe, an economic community with many languages, encourages him. The fact that people think that the African languages are unsuitable for "higher functions" is a vestige of "the colonised mind" according to Alexander (1996). He stresses the importance of developing these languages for tertiary education. He agrees with Samuels (1995) that it will take committed leaders to carry out this development.

Alexander also notes that in the past, government policies were the problem. Today, the problems include policy implementation and an unwillingness to employ solutions that may rock the boat. Alexander emphasizes that the majority of South Africans speak African languages. He believes that it is these South Africans who will carry the country into the future, so development of their languages can and must occur. Currently, people who speak African languages are often poor and have no economic power. However, as people emerge from poverty, they will begin to consume goods, according to Alexander. Therefore, private sector firms will need to be able to communicate with these consumers in their languages (N. Alexander, personal communication, February 16, 1999; Samuels, 1995, p. 81). Alexander recognizes that in the short term, English (and Afrikaans in some contexts) will continue to dominate, but that ultimately there will be a move toward multilingualism because of the will of the speakers of African languages who do wish to maintain them (N. Alexander, 1996). Master (1998, p. 723–724) agrees that when non-English speaking countries become strong enough to develop their own languages for use beyond the community level, English will be displaced. Bianco (1995, p. 28) adds that futurologists identify peoples' awareness of their "difference, distinctiveness and particularity" as gaining importance worldwide. Such trends mean that proficiency in more than one language will be an economic asset for people (Garcia, 1995, p. 157), and language-culture groups will become more powerful locally, not more marginalized as they have been previously. Local businesses realize that the majority of their customers are not English speakers. This tendency to particularize will not pass by the watchful eye of large companies.

One approach by Alexander that has resulted in much controversy amongst educators is the suggestion that school texts be standardized in four languages: English, Afrikaans, a standard form of Nguni, and a standard form of Sotho (V. Webb, personal communication, March 1999). Nguni can be mutually understood by speakers of Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, and Swati. Sotho can be mutually understood by speakers of Sesotho, Sepedi and Tswana[24] (R. Finlayson, personal communication, March 1999). Alexander

[24] The remaining two official languages, Tsonga, and Venda also fall under the what are known as the "Niger-Congo" language family, yet seem quite different from the Nguni and Sotho languages (personal e-mail communication with Jako Oliver, April 1999). No one I spoke to referred to these languages specifically with regards to their development for educational purposes.

notes that this cannot be imposed, but that people must understand the economic reasons for it. For instance, it would promote multilingualism and save millions of dollars in textbook production, which is not feasible in all 11 languages.

Alexander emphasizes that people will continue to speak varieties of their African languages at home. The negative reaction to the idea, according to Webb, means it is not clearly understood that the standardized forms are *additions* to African languages and *not* intended to replace them. It should also be stressed that those forms are being developed as *written* forms for academic purposes. If these clarifications are not made, many will continue to oppose the idea (V. Webb, personal communication, March 1999). In addition, there will be, if not already, heated debates over what constitutes the "standard" form of these languages, just as there are similar debates in other countries where standard forms of a language are suggested (Epstein, 1995; Hornberger, 1995).

There are other pockets of interest in a pluralist South Africa. For example, at Pretoria University, which is an Afrikaans institution, a new multidisciplinary research centre called CentRePol is examining the politics of language in the following four areas: education, public administration, political development, and economic development (V. Webb, personal communication, March 1999). Webb is interested particularly in languages and economics. He notes that in order to receive elevated status, languages must be used outside of the home, for example, in politics, trade, media, and education.

A Word from South African Teachers

In addition to PRAESA there are the teachers of African languages who, often against the odds, fight for language maintenance. Two teachers of Xhosa, Notozi Mgobozi and Rae Ntlebi are vocal on what they were doing and the situation in the English-medium school in which they teach. These teachers have a strong commitment to multilingualism. They are gratified especially by the MT English children learning Xhosa, noting how those children are for the first time able to speak to the black employees (e.g., gardeners and housekeepers) in their homes. The school has a small language across the curriculum program and is even developing a short course in Xhosa for non-Xhosa speaking teachers. While their school is very stable and not as politicized as township schools, they still see a number of problems:

- Students do not have enough time to properly study Xhosa.
- There are insufficient communicative resources to teach the language properly.
- Parents do not see the need for instruction in Xhosa. They may be embarrassed about maintaining their cultural practices when they move to the city, so there is little support at home for maintaining their culture and language. Parents rarely attend parent-teacher or other school meetings. This may be due to parents' lack of confidence and the fact that they do not speak English rather than apathy, but the result is that they are uninformed and unheard. They need to be included.

- Language teachers generally are not well trained. Those who are, do not share their expertise and materials with one another. Increased paycheques are still the main motivation for upgrading. There needs to be a change in attitude.

- The non-Xhosa school administration is not always sensitive to cross-cultural issues.

Mgobozi and Ntlebi teachers also noted that individual schools do not have the expertise to formulate language policy for the purposes of implementation at the school level. They pointed out that these policies should be more standardized across the school system. In addition, they said that teachers, parents, and administrators fear change or lack the confidence to support change; they often only advocate change if they are angry at a particular policy or practice. They agreed with others such as Alexander (personal communication, February 1999) and Samuels (1995) who say it is important to build on success and that strong leadership is required to open closed doors and promote acceptance of change.

Ethics of Teaching English: What the Literature Says

> *For children whose mother tongue is not English, English is not the language of their cultural heritage, not the language of intense personal feelings and the community, not the language most appropriate for learning to solve problems in cognitively demanding decontextualized situations, etc. English does not necessarily have teaching materials that are culturally appropriate, nor experts with the appropriate linguistic and cultural understanding for all learning contexts. In multi-ethnic, multilingual situations, English does not do what is claimed for it, often quite the opposite. Rather than uniting an entire country or helping to form a national identity, it is used for "elite formation and preservation, intranational and international links between elites, and international identity"*
> (Annamalia in Masters, 1998, p. 718)

The quotation above illustrates the venomous bite of English on education and the sociopolitical scene. The situation in South Africa is particularly illustrative of how English, particularly in complex social and political contexts, has the potential to consume or dominate other languages and cultures.

Many teachers of English are aware of the impact of English on other languages; the ethical issues involved in the teaching of English have been published for a number of years. It is of value at this point to summarize some of those issues to demonstrate teaching is a political act (Pennycook, 1994; Judd, 1987). Teaching any subject, especially teaching an internationally powerful language "must take into account the social context, in particular the power relations within that context and how they affect the psychological variables and language learning process" (Angélil-Carter, 1997, p.

263). Most of the discussion below applies at least in part to South Africa as well as to other colonized nations, including Canada, and to EFL contexts.

Perpetuating Imperialism: The Problem and Some Solutions

John Naysmith (1986) raises a number of ethical issues related to imperialism and the teaching of English. He notes that English language teachers are perpetuating a hidden curriculum—the domination of English, the elite who speak it, western values, and the subordination of other languages and, by extension, of other non-English speaking peoples and their values. Others agree: "To the extent that it is the knowledge, life experience, and language and discourses of the dominant class that are valued in educational institutions, it is their power that is perpetuated...privileging on group's literacy and discourse practices over others', and it is, as such, a mechanism for perpetuating the status quo" (Auerbach, 1995, p. 11).

Naysmith pinpoints the dilemma for English language teachers who are generally liberals striving for a more peaceful, equitable world. Yet, these people often find themselves teaching in situations that do just the opposite: "The English language teacher has, wittingly or unwittingly, become an agent in the maintenance of international patterns of domination and subordination. The core of this process is the central place the English language has taken as *the* language of international capitalism" (Naysmith, 1986, np). It is the minority elite in non-English speaking countries who speak English, practice English culture, and perpetuate the dominance of English through systems such as education (Schmied, 1995, p. 51; Giroux, 1983, in Auerbach, 1995, p. 12). Speaking the language of the powerful elite and acting in culturally appropriate ways for the elite employers is what provides economic stability for those at the periphery, not using African languages and practising traditional ways. Naysmith adds, "It is this continuing link between what can (borrowing from dependency theory) be described as the centre and the periphery-elite which provides many English teachers...with their livelihood" (np). Therefore, teachers must think critically about the role and status of English and their teaching of it.

Elliot Judd (1987) proposes that English language teachers may approach their English language teaching in one of two ways: as a contribution to the larger society or, alternatively, as having the potential to diminish linguistic diversity. The first perspective supports the notion that languages are chosen for their "utility" and "political usefulness." He adds that they see that "language shift is a natural sociolinguistic process" and that we should "accept the reality" of it (Judd, 1987, np). The second view argues that "although language change is natural, it is not inevitable; and that as professionals we must play an active part, voicing our concerns when our teaching produces consequences of which we do not approve" (np). Judd adds "that, as ESOL professionals, we run the risk of changing certain groups' linguistic patterns," and thus it is important that we ask "who benefits from ESOL instruction" so that we do not assume "that those in power can decide fairly what is good for society" (np). Phillipson (1988, in Pennycook, 1995) suggests that teacher education needs to pay more attention to "international relations, development studies, theories of culture or intercultural contact, or the politics or sociology of language or education" (p. 39).

Angélil-Carter (1997) adds that power relations can affect second language acquisition. For instance, students are likely to be intimidated in discourse with those in power positions, which in South Africa is often the situation (e.g., consider a black university student speaking to a white professor, or a coloured employee speaking to a white employer, or an Indian child speaking to a white teacher). According to Bourdieu, communication only occurs when the speaker is recognized as "legitimate," that is, that one person has the right to speak to the other (Bourdieu in Angélil-Carter, p. 267). Students develop their concept of self and their relations with others and their worlds as they speak to others. According to Angélil-Carter (1997), teachers need to be aware that students have "an enormous amount, in terms of identity and self...invested in discourses, old and new, private and public, and in transition. Like investment in a target language, investment in discourses is historically constructed and inextricable from relations of power in the wider society" (p. 269). Thus, in the classroom, silence may signal that a student does not feel visible or valued. It might also signal that the student is resisting teacher authority and approaches to teaching of the dominant language. While teachers cannot change power dynamics outside of the classroom, within it they can lower power differentials by selecting topics that make use of wider sociopolitical contexts that have meaning for and give greater control to learners (Angélil-Carter, 1997, p. 284). They can also directly discuss with their students and encourage students to reflect upon aspects of language and culture that are related to power (Auerbach, 1995, p. 12).

Auerbach (1995) says that "in order to challenge existing relations of inequality outside the classroom, curriculum content must include explicit analysis of the social context, and students must be invited to participate in making pedagogical choices inside the classroom" (p. 28). She notes that teachers and administrators must be aware that dominant cultures, specifically the western culture of English, shape the educational agenda. This implies that English language teaching is not neutral, but that English culture dominates the teaching-learning process and the content of English courses (Pennycook, 1994, p. 166ff). Similarly, Carrington (1988) agrees that English language teaching is not neutral but, unfortunately, is always connected with teaching English culture. He has proposed that the teaching of English should be decontextualized. That is, as a speaker of English as an additional language, he does not necessarily want to take on an English identity, culture, or world view when he learns the language for instrumental purposes such as academic study. Pennycook (1995) argues, however, that "we cannot reduce questions of language to social psychological notions as instrumental and integrative motivation, but must account for the extent to which language is embedded in social, economic, and political struggles" (p. 40). Elsewhere, he claims that it is impossible to just teach the language because it is "caught up in an array of questions concerning curriculum, educational systems, and classroom practice" (1994, p. 295). For example, Pennycook points out that western pedagogical approaches, such as small classes, a relaxed classroom atmosphere, interactive groupwork, learner-centredness, communicative methodology, promotion of critical thinking, and so on are assumed to be the "best" and most modern practices. However, these and other practices are actually part of English ideology. They reflect western world views and attitudes and, some would argue, perpetuate the dominance of English language and culture, and disempowerment of students through negation of their experience (Swan, 1998, p. 51).

Appropriate approaches must consider the relationships between teacher and learner, their various roles in society, student needs, and the pedagogical preferences or values of each context in which instruction occurs. Auerbach (1995) suggests that there are ways to address such power issues. These include involving students in curriculum development, seeing curriculum as a developmental process, ensuring relevant curriculum, and participatory education. She challenges teachers to take a problem-posing approach to their profession. Teachers should seek out information and publications from members of a cultural group to become informed regarding learners' cultures and preferred pedagogies.

Auerbach (1995) adds that instructional content can disempower students, socializing them into subservient roles. For example, in South Africa in the past, the vocabulary, content, and materials of English instruction to blacks often emphasized their responsibility to their white employers rather than their rights (K. Saycell, personal communication, March 1999).

Pennycook (1994) notes that attempts to neutralize English, claiming that it can be taught as an international language, break down under scrutiny. Books purporting to teach "international English," for example remain uninteresting, irrelevant, stubbornly ethnocentric, and insensitive to the complexities of sociocultural and political contexts. In fact, it makes much more sense to develop materials for a particular context and specific purpose(s) for learning English (p. 176ff). Auerbach's (1995) solutions include validating what students already know, presentation of content descriptively instead of prescriptively, and problem-posing to explore text.

As the concrete representation of curriculum, materials must also be carefully selected (Auerbach, 1995). Teachers must guard against inappropriate textbooks, over-reliance on textbooks, low student involvement in textbook selection, texts that minimize original input from learners, and exercises that are irrelevant to the lives of students. Solutions include finding texts that allow for learner selection, evaluation, and personal input regarding learning tasks. Teachers must strive to find relevant materials, especially authentic materials, and involve students in materials production.

Finally, Auerbach points to issues of language choice in the classroom. Should the classroom be English only, or should use of their first language (L1) be allowed? Ways to address this issue include: promotion of bilingual classrooms where appropriate, allowing transition from selective use of L1 to the target language, allowing students to express ideas, especially abstract ones, in L1 first, and involving learners in deciding the of amount of L1 to be allowed in the classroom. In a recent TESOL Quarterly article, Cook (1999) goes beyond these solutions, demonstrating that language learners are not "deficient," but bring knowledge of learning their first, and possibly other, languages with them to the language learning experience. She proposes that students become multicompetent as they learn additional languages. That is, unlike monolinguals, their brains have developed cognitive capacities to use other language learning experiences to help them develop additional languages. This fact should be utilized in classroom teaching in the development of bilingual and multilingual people.

Approaches to Multicultural and Multilingual Teaching

In spite of a multicultural policies, usually one language dominates, and peop'e must learn that language to participate meaningfully in all aspects of society. When we teach language we ask people to "try on" a new culture and a new world view. Asking someone to do this is not like asking them to try on a new sweater (Brouse, 1996, p. 6). Brouse notes that in addition to the existence of power relations, the values of the target language and culture may be alien to learners or in conflict with their values. Compounding this with teaching that does not validate the learners' cultures (or is overtly racist) renders the learning experience unsuccessful, even if the language has been learned to some degree.

Pennycook (1995) urges teachers to become politically active and "become engaged in a critical pedagogical project to use English to oppose the dominant discourses of the West to help the articulation of counter-discourses in English. At the very least, intimately involved as we are with the spread of English, we should be acutely aware of the implications of this spread for the reproduction and production of global inequities" (p. 55). For example, we can be involved in supporting language policies that promote language maintenance (p. 55).

Brouse (1996) proposes a multicultural approach to language teaching in several steps. The first is teacher awareness of their own culture; teachers must critically examine their own cultural values and biases. Next, teachers must learn about the values, including the teaching-learning approaches of the students and respond appropriately to student expectations, guarding against invalidating those values of expectations. The critical appraisal of the curriculum, classroom resources, materials, activities, and language used as proposed by Auerbach is also essential to ensure that they are not offensive, that they provide opportunities for cross-cultural interaction, and that they validate the students' and their cultures. Testing instruments must be examined to ensure that they are culturally fair and administered in a non-threatening manner. Finally, the teacher can share many aspects of multiculturalism with learners, using a combination of enrichment, enhancement, and student empowerment. Through enrichment students learn about the material culture of various ethnic communities. Through enhancement they learn to appreciate diversity and resist racism and cultural relativism. And, most importantly, through empowerment students analyze the social, political, and economic forces that disempower and gain the "skills and resources necessary to take charge of their lives and their destinies" (Brouse, 1996, p. 4–5). A number of approaches to empowerment have been suggested including the problem-posing cycle (Bock, 1995, p. 248), Freire's approaches (Pennycook, 1994, p. 310; Wallerstein, 1982), and the concept of voice as proposed by Catherine Walsh (Pennycook, 1994, p. 310). Certainly, artists and activists such as writer Chinua Achebe, singer-songwriters Johnny Clegg and his group Savuka, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and numerous others have used English to reflect their views and values in powerful ways.

Teachers Facing the Reality of English

Today, disadvantaged people in places like South Africa think that they are sure to remain impoverished if they do not have access to English language and culture. However, Judd (1987) awakens us to the reality of a situation that affects us as English language teachers. He notes that today English is a

> vehicle for personal advancement: it is the language of scientific and technological information, and it serves as an international status marker. Yet in many parts of the world the actual number of positions open for those with such skills is severely limited and competition for them is very keen: entry and advancement may be determined by political connections rather than English language ability" (np)

The important point in this for teachers, according to Judd, is whether or not we should draw this to the attention of our students.

Naysmith (1986) points out that in many countries the domination of English has led to the destruction of traditional languages and cultures, and the disunity and disempowerment of once viable societies (e.g., Maori in New Zealand). He goes so far as to claim that, in fact, "English has even been deliberately used...in the suppression of other languages and dialects, supposedly in the interests of political 'unity' and 'stability'" (np). He adds that "the inescapable implication...is that the English language must by its very nature continue to perpetuate unequal relationships both within the English-speaking nations and internationally" (np). On a less negative note, the growth of varieties of English ("world Englishes") indicate that people are shaping the language to 'fit' their ideologies (Naysmith, 1986). This is making for a more pluralistic world (Bianco, 1995, p. 3–4). Both Naysmith and Judd suggest that English language teachers have the power, indeed the responsibility, to actively question and challenge aspects of English that promote dependency and domination.

Multilingual Education in Canada: A Comparison with South Africa

> *Language exists only in the brains and mouths and ears and hands and eyes of its users. When they succeed, on the international stage, their language succeeds. When they fail, their language fails.*
> (Crystal, 1997, p. 5)

> *To be me required the examination of who I was.*
> *I had been thinking like a European.*
> *I had been feeling like a European.*
> *I had been acting like a European.*
> *Over these years, I had been European. Almost immediately, I began to embrace my thoughts, my feelings and my actions. I have—finally—found happiness.* (Isbister, 1998, p. 84)

The metaphor of English as cobra also applies to Canada. As all Canadians know, language issues are of central importance here and the affect of English on other language groups is no less imperial. An examination of the ethical issues involved in English language teaching and particularly the language situation and how it is being addressed in South Africa can inform us about multilingualism in Canada. In this section, I examine English and multiculturalism in Canada and relate the situation to that in South Africa.

Canada's *Official Languages Act* (1969) assigned official status to the languages of the two founding nations, English and French. As a bilingual French-English nation with influences of the minority aboriginal and heritage[25] languages, Canada has and will continue to be confronted with language issues. While the intention of the *Official Languages Act* is that multiculturalism is a commitment to social justice and a clear statement that all Canadians are of equal worth, the policy has been criticized by those who on one hand believe it is token, and by those who on the other hand believe it hampers national unity (Brouse, 1996, p. 2). In practice, multilingualism in Canada is voluntary; with the exception of French, multilingualism is not enforced in any legislation. In spite of the absence of laws promoting multiculturalism, Canada is a multicultural nation in ideology and in practice (Brouse, 1996, p. 3). I believe that this is primarily due to the will of the country's various speech communities rather than because of government support.

French Canadians have been particularly vocal about the close connection between their language and culture. And, they have been active in ensuring political and economic parity of their language, especially in French speaking regions of the country. So, it is unlikely for political reasons that French language and culture will diminish in Canada. Yet, because most regions of Canada are English speaking and because

[25] The term heritage language(s) is used in this paper to refer to the languages of Canadian immigrants, for example, Ukrainian, Polish, German, Chinese, Vietnamese, Spanish, and so on. It is interesting to note that about 13% of Canadians speak heritage languages as their mother tongue, and the entire range of the world's language families is represented amongst Canada's immigrant population.

English is the language of power, the entire country is not bilingual. This is in spite of official government policy and in spite of the fact that Canada's model of bilingual education is a recognized worldwide. Linguistic and political realities, resentment amongst some about the added budget expense to keep the country bilingual, and animosity towards Quebec separatists has affected the motivation of many English MT speakers to learn French. Decision makers in Canada recognize the issue but seem to see the struggle as confined to one area of the country.

While across the country federal government employees and federal government offices must be bilingual, in other spheres of life people have a choice. For MT English speakers, the choice is English-only, with a small minority speaking French, usually poorly, as a second language. For MT French speakers the choice is often French-only, but just as often bilingual French with English as a second language because of the economic advantage of knowing English. One wonders if just as many French MT speakers would learn the other official language if it were an aboriginal language or even a European language. In any case, bilingualism as an official policy appears to be inadequate in its administration.

Factors Contributing to Aboriginal Language Loss

The rest of this section focuses primarily on aboriginal languages, as they are the ones that are most endangered in Canada. This is largely because they are spoken only in Canada.[26] Appendix F provides some detail about aboriginal languages.

Studies have determined that the numbers of speakers of aboriginal languages as a MT have declined from 87% of the aboriginal population in 1951 to 24% in 1996. Nearly 10 aboriginal languages have become extinct in the last 100 years and another 12 have nearly disappeared (Norris, 1998, p. 8). "As of 1996, only 3 out of Canada's 50 aboriginal languages had large enough populations to be considered truly secure from the threat of extinction in the long run" (Norris, 1998, p. 8). Other minority linguistic groups in Canada (e.g., German, Ukrainian, Chinese, etc.) have support in terms of continued immigration, travel to the mother lands, communications media and other forms of international communication (Norris, 1998; Burnaby, 1987), the status of those languages, and the motivation of speech communities to retain them.

Colonial Education as Contributor to Loss of Language and Identity

Many aboriginal languages and cultures were lost during colonization by the imposed education of missionaries and at residential schools. Isbister (1998) explains that education by the colonizers, while designed to create a more homogeneous society (a Canadian and Christian society), also brought aboriginal pedagogy, a pedagogy based on aboriginal world views, to an abrupt halt. The results were that both aboriginal tradition and culture were negated. It is not surprising that aboriginal people viewed

[26] Related aboriginal language families also exist in United States and the Arctic Circle, where they are also endangered. Related language families may also exist in Russia and Greenland. However, "resources of one language are only of limited help to a related language. If French were lost in the world, the fact that Portuguese and Spanish still existed would not be of much help" (Burnaby, 1982, p. 112–13).

their culture and languages as inferior and did poorly in the western-style education system. Rather than criticizing the education system for student failure, educational administrators blamed the victims. To ameliorate the situation, financial and human resources were poured into education. Yet, students continued to fail, again appearing to demonstrate to the administrators that the students were ignorant. In addition, aboriginal students were judged to be unresponsive to and unappreciative of government efforts to educate them.

The public education system has changed little in attitude. Languages and cultural identities continue to be lost in favour of English, in the hopes that entering the English circle of privilege will bring happiness to disadvantaged people. The case is similar in other colonized nations where people wonder how to regain their sense of self.

Current Factors

According to Norris (1998), factors that contribute to the continued viability of aboriginal languages include the following:

- large numbers of people speaking the language
- ability and desire to pass the language from one generation to the next, especially via use in the home
- geographic isolation removed from the dominant culture
- the age of speakers of the language.

A greater number of young speakers indicates more successful transmission and less language loss as the older people pass away. Norris writes that indigenous language groups are getting older because, contrary to popular belief, fertility rates amongst aboriginal people are declining and the proportion of aboriginal MT speakers is also decreasing. This varies according to language group.

These are similar to the factors noted by South African writer, Holmes (1993): "social attitudes, the number of MT speakers, use of the language at home, residential contiguity and opportunities to speak the MT, resistance to inter-linguistic marriages, support for community languages in schools and institutional resources such as community newspapers and religious services" (Holmes et al, 1993, in De Klerk 1998, p. 355).

The large number of South Africans who still speak African languages[27] in the home may prevent or slow language loss. In fact Kamwangalamalu (1995, p. 101) says that if traditional languages were to be lost in South Africa, it would have already happened during apartheid. He is optimistic about current government support in preventing language loss, in spite of the fact that implementation of the multilingual policy is far

[27] There are 27 language still spoken in South Africa. Most are spoken outside of the country as well. For example, Zulu is spoken in Malawi, Lesotho, and Swaziland. However even these languages may decrease in use because of the factors mentioned in this section. For more information on South African languages, consult <www.sil.org/ethnologue/countries/South.html>

from being realized. He also notes that the people's choice for English at the grassroots level is part of the democratic process. However, the issue is more complex as it involves internalized apartheid notions of the superiority of English and the inferiority of African languages. In South Africa migration to urban areas and high motivation to learn English over African languages will undoubtedly put pressure on the continued existence of many of the country's languages.

Norris (1998) points out that in Canada it is during their years in the labour force that young people most often stop using their aboriginal languages. Furthermore, the loss is most marked amongst women. This is particularly disturbing since it is usually the mother who has contact with children during their formative years. In fact, it is the mother who has the responsibility to pass language on to the children, most ideally in the home environment (Ermine, 1998, p. 24). Presumably the above situation could also be the case, at least eventually, in South Africa as an increasing number of black men and women are employed in and mix with English speaking society. In addition to the factors listed above, the legacy of colonization in both countries, and high motivation to learn the languages of economic power and move to urban areas are putting pressure on indigenous languages. "Clearly, the off-reserve environment poses major threats to aboriginal languages" (Norris, 1998, p. 15) and to South African languages. It appears, however, that the negative view of what was originally the foreign ruler's language has been overshadowed by what it can today do for its users (Kachru, 1986, in Pennycook, 1995, p. 37).

In both South Africa and Canada the national consciousness supports maintenance of traditional languages. In Canada, this has not been supported financially or in the implementation of educational policy: "There is a general sense of moral commitment to the maintenance of the Native languages as the languages of the first nations of Canada, but there appears to be only a minimum of will to provide the support necessary" (Burnaby, 1987, p. 13). With the numerous priorities of government, financial resources are also scarce at present for the support of African languages.

In spite of this lack of government funding, and although aboriginal people are the most economically disadvantaged group in Canada, most aboriginal groups today see language maintenance as a priority because it assures the continuance of their valued cultures. The will of these speech communities, then, may turn around the rate of language loss in Canada. South Africans, like the aboriginal people of Canada and the Maori of New Zealand, may need to go through a similar realization once they become aware that their culture is endangered.

Awareness of One's Language

Burnaby notes that aboriginal people (and I would add like South Africans) recognize the need to learn English or French for the economic participation and financial stability of their people. Most of the people who speak an aboriginal language in Canada, also speak English or French quite fluently. Aboriginal people, however, appear more cognizant than South Africans that the languages of power can marginalize aboriginal languages. Such an awareness is perhaps a key factor in ensuring maintenance of Canadian aboriginal languages. Norris notes that according to the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples' Survey, 90% of those surveyed wished to regain their

languages or learn one if they had never spoken one. Awareness of the connection between language, aboriginal cultural identity, and loss of identity for those who speak English-only amongst the aboriginal community is motivating this learning (Ermine, 1998, p. 21; Norris, 1998, p. 15).

Aboriginal elders and teachers are taking the following steps to preserve their languages: language instruction, aboriginal media programming, and the recording of traditional stories, songs, and history in aboriginal languages (Ermine, 1998, p. 16). The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) supports these measures. RCAP also recommends granting special status to aboriginal languages and guaranteeing their extended use, providing formal education in the aboriginal languages, and conducting research.

Approaches to Teaching English to Aboriginal People

Let us examine more closely the issues involved in aboriginal language education. Burnaby (1987) writes that aboriginal people who speak English or French and live in urban areas maintain their language through family efforts or classes at cultural and friendship centres, and occasionally through learning a language as a school subject. Those who speak an aboriginal language as a MT and do need to learn English usually come from geographically isolated rural communities. Often in these communities, the only English (or French) institution is the school and often the students intend to remain in their communities after leaving school. The materials and approaches used to teach English or French, then, cannot be the same as those used for teaching immigrants for a number of reasons: (1) the content is urban in nature; (2) learners have little or no contact with the target language outside of the classroom; (3) the people are ambivalent regarding learning French or English. This third point is best explained as follows:

> While Native parents are generally united in viewing education as a means by which their children can be better integrated into Canada's economic system and in viewing fluency in an official language as an important part of this process, there are problems in motivating young children to work towards a distant goal, particularly if there is an underlying pessimism in the community about the economic prospects for community residents with or without good educational qualifications. Native learners can be expected to feel that learning an official language is an extra burden that has been thrust upon them (Burnaby, 1987, p. 14).

Thus for aboriginal people living in traditional societies (not urban areas), learning English or French may be purely for instrumental rather than for integrative purposes. This is quite different from many recent Canadian immigrants who are extremely motivated to learn the language(s) of economic power *and* integrate into society.

In South Africa, students who do not speak English (or Afrikaans) begin their schooling in their MT. Later, in about third grade, English is added and their MT is taught as a school subject, often by speakers of the MT. Mother tongue maintenance was always supported, in theory, in that country but, as noted previously, in efforts to "divide and

rule." On the other hand, historically in Canada, aboriginal people were taught by speakers of one of the two official languages. Students were often punished for speaking their MT. In Canada, primary education in a students' MT is a relatively new concept. Such programs do exist, primarily where aboriginal peoples have their own school boards. In those cases, aboriginal parents have the power to voice any concerns they have about their children not learning an official language (Burnaby, 1987). It is to the credit of the Canadian government that they recognize the need for such efforts and are willing to provide some funding for them. However, lack of appropriate materials remains a problem. This affects teaching in aboriginal languages in Canada and in all types of programs (not just in immersion programs). Burnaby adds that most teachers are untrained for teaching in an aboriginal language and that conventional pedagogy is not appropriate. It should be noted here that teacher education programs (TEPs) for aboriginal teachers, for example at the University of Saskatchewan, are addressing these concerns.

Finally, there is an increasing awareness of the advantages of educating students in their MT first for the following reasons: (1) it promotes language maintenance; (2) it promotes pride and knowledge in one's culture first as well as a strong sense of identity before the introduction of another (especially a powerful) language and culture; (3) it allows students to develop abstract and conceptual knowledge in a first language (L1) before introducing it in a second language (L2), or what Cummins (1989, p. 45) has called "linguistic interdependence"; (4) it promotes development of the language; and (5) it promotes the use of traditional knowledge in education. These points apply in both Canada and South Africa.

In Search of Antivenom

> *English simultaneously represents oppression (for some) and freedom, offering access to elite educational, scientific and political domains. But it is a necessary evil to even its strongest opponents, and more and more parents are following the trend of ensuring that their progeny master English and make it theirs.* (De Klerk, 1998, p. 362)

Setting Priorities

To return to the English-as-cobra metaphor, as noted earlier venom can be used for good or for evil. Schmied (1995, p. 51–52) agrees that a language like English should not be seen as a threat but as an advantage for native and non-native speakers alike. This may be true for a country trying to establish itself internationally.

However, it is important to remember that in South Africa, English is the language of the minority. Today there are only about 3.5 million English speakers in South Africa (Schmied, 1995, p. 51–52), which represents between 7% and 11% of the population (depending upon the source consulted). This is a small number. However, because English is the language of modernization and social change, it is without question the most powerful and sought after language in the country. For the small percentage who

speak English, it provides access to mobility and advancement. Thus the numbers of English speakers will continue to grow in that nation at unprecedented rates.

Crystal (1997) states that because of the massive resources required to maintain the "languages of identity" and guarantee access to the "language of opportunity," some difficult priority decisions must be made and budgets adjusted accordingly (p. 22). This will certainly be the case in South Africa. But it is already too late for the many aboriginal languages lost in Canada. South Africa, however, is at a stage where it must take steps or suffer the consequences of language loss.

The first step in setting priorities is to define the role of English within a country. Policy makers must be more aware that the increasing use of English is not a natural phenomenon to be benignly accepted, and that English is not a neutral language. With English comes a history of imperialism with its ramifications for empowerment and disempowerment of people. This includes marginalization or loss of languages and cultures replaced by English and the acquisition of values that accompany English. English language educators must be more aware than ever that "people are not passive consumers of culture and knowledge but active creators" (Pennycook, 1995, p. 49). Because classrooms are a "cultural and political arena" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 297), the teaching of English must be approached critically, "grounded in the desire for social change, if it is genuinely to contribute to cultural renewal and worldwide exchange of knowledge" (Pennycook, 1994, 325–6).

Consideration of Context and Language Varieties

Although South Africa appears from the outside to be an English speaking country, it simultaneously has people who speak English as MT, those who are learning English as a foreign language, and those who are learning English as an additional (second) language (Nayar, 1997, p. 27). Thus, there are those in Kachru's inner circle, the outer circle, and in the expanding circle, discussed at the beginning of this paper. It is important, therefore, that when teaching English in multicultural nations such as South Africa and Canada, where languages are endangered and social and cultural values in peoples' lives are at stake, that there are clearly understood and articulated purposes for language learning. It is important also, that language teachers "rethink English teaching as embedded in and intertwined with day-to-day existences and everyday contexts of diverse peoples" (Pakir, 1999, p. 108). Teachers will need to ask themselves "Whose world is being designed? Who is doing the designing? For whom? And how?" (Nayar, 1997, p. 27). Educators need to "pay attention to the linguistic and sociolinguistic profiles of countries and their citizens who desire to learn English." And they will have to raise with their students "questions of modernity, self, and identity in the connected community using English" (Nayar, 1997, p. 27).

Nayar (1997) has proposed the term English as an Associate Language (EAL) for multicultural nations such as India, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Canada, and Australia. Pakir (1999) has used the term "English-knowing bilingualism" in a similar way to describe those who retain their language and identity but who use English to improve their lives. In the contexts of South Africa, and in French and aboriginal communities in Canada, English may be taught and learned for instrumental purposes. Pandor (1995, p. 72), for example, suggests that in South Africa, English be taught for use in

education, employment, and cross-cultural communication, but it should not be elevated unduly as an official lingua franca. The aim would always be to retain one's MT.

In fact, because of increased global interdependence, the vocabulary of English has increased to 8 million words (Graddol, 1997, in Pakir, 1999, p. 111). So, the English language itself is establishing new varieties, based on its position as a global language. And there is a worldwide trend for non-English speakers to create varieties of English that suit them culturally (e.g., Ebonics in the US). These varieties are becoming increasingly accepted in certain contexts. This implies that cultures are beginning to co-exist, without one overtaking one another. Further, it allows people who are bilingual in English and another language to use English in ways that allow them to best express themselves. Those who oppose language mixing and insist on maintaining the purity of the English language, must remember that modern English evolved from languages such as Greek, Latin, German, and French (Crystal, 1997, p. 20) and constantly borrows from many others.[28]

In situations where English is accepted and recognized as an associate language, assimilation into the English speaking community would not be the goal, and identification with English culture would be optional, depending upon the learner's informed choice (Crystal, 1997, p. 30). That is, the learner would choose to share or not to in the richness of both cultures. Sheorey (1998) outlines how this works relatively well in India where only 5% of the population speaks English. He and others note, however, that changes to the education system must be made to improve language instruction (Sheorey, 1998; Ramanathan, 1999).

The ideal of letting learners choose how much English culture they will absorb is predicated on the notion that the use, culture, and power of English has been effectively problematized in discussions between teachers and learners.

Implications for English Teachers

The most important implications for language teachers within the EAL model or the model of an English speaking bilingual would be the affect on the development of a critical teaching philosophy and curriculum, one that encompasses multilingualism as well as appropriate activities, materials and resources, and language for the classroom within a given context.

While Crystal places the responsibility on the politicians to make laws and supply financial resources, Ashworth (1992, p. 45–46) recognizes that "politicians rarely lead, they follow." She places the responsibility on teachers, administrators, students, parents, and scholars to take leadership in addressing the following issues in language

[28] English is constantly integrating words from other languages: *sate* from Canadian French, *kayak* from Inuktitut, *algebra* from Arabic, *verandah* from Hindi and Portuguese. Even within a country, words can become regionalized. For example, slough has different meanings in western Canada and in British Columbia.

education:

- funding and accountability
- teacher training and employment
- opportunities for networking and conferencing
- research and planning
- changing attitudes
- leadership.

Conclusion

This paper has outlined the situation of endangered languages and how the situation affects and has been affected by government policy and by education. What has happened to languages in nations such as Canada should provide a warning to South Africa. One can hope that purely on the basis of numbers and forces that have kept South Africa's traditional languages alive in the face of past challenges, that they will continue to exist and thrive. It is likely, however, that an active rather than a passive approach must be taken to maintain and develop these languages. The most important first step is awareness of non-English speakers that their languages, cultures, and identities are in danger and are worth preserving. Because in the modern world it is the languages with no economic power that are the most likely to be marginalized, it is crucial is for those holding political and economic power to give status to other languages. It is also important that English is taught in ways that empower learners.

Bianco (1995) fittingly summarizes the challenge for society, including teachers:

> The key task ideologically is to find a principled way of connecting local diversity to privileged diversity, via a discourse of pluralism, as a means of appropriating this moment of openness towards pluralism to make genuine progress towards diversity. (p. 30)

Appendix A: Institutions Visited in South Africa

- University of Capetown—Centre for Teaching and Learning; Academic Development Centre; Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA)
- University of Port Elizabeth—Centre for Continuing Education and Faculty of Education
- Port Elizabeth Teachers College
- Port Elizabeth Technikon—Academic Development Centre; Department of Languages
- VISTA University, Port Elizabeth campus
- VISTA University Distance Education Centre (VUDEC) Pretoria—Institutional Development
- Rhodes University, Grahamstown—Department of Linguistics and English Language, English Language Academic Program (ELAP), Academic Development Centre, School of Education, Department of Education
- University of Pretoria—Department of African Languages
- Unisa, Pretoria—Department of English, Bureau for University Teaching
- Johannesburg College of Education
- University of Durban, Pietermaritzburg—Applied Language Studies Department

Appendix B: Constitutional Documents

APPENDIX 1
Excerpt from 1996
Constitution

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

Languages

6. (1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.

(2) Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

(3) National and provincial governments may use particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances, and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in respective provinces; provided that no national or provincial government may use only one official language. Municipalities must take into consideration the language usage and preferences of their residents.

(4) National and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor the use by those governments of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2),'all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

(5) The Pan South African Language Board must -
(a) promote and create conditions for the development and use of
(i) all official languages;
(ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
(iii) sign language.
(b) promote and ensure respect for languages, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, and others commonly used by communities in South Africa, and Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and others used for religious purposes.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY 14 JULY 1997

The language in education policy documents which follow have been the subject of discussions and debate with a wide range of education stakeholders and role-players. They have also been the subject of formal public comment following their publication on 9 May 1997 (Government Notice No. 383, Vol. 17997).

Two policies are announced herewith, namely, the LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY IN TERMS OF SECTION 3(4)(m) OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY ACT, 1996 (ACT 27 OF 1996), and the NORMS AND STANDARDS REGARDING LANGUAGE POLICY PUBLISHED IN TERMS OF SECTION 6(1) OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS ACT, 1996. While these two policies have different objectives, they complement each other and should at all times be read together rather than separately.

Section 4.4 of the Language in Education Policy relates to the current situation. The new curriculum, which will be implemented from 1998, onwards, will necessitate new measures which will be announced in due course.

LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY IN TERMS OF SECTION 3(4)(m) OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY ACT, 1996 (ACT 27 OF 1996)

PREAMBLE

This Language-in-Education Policy Document should be seen as part of a continuous process by which policy for language in education is being developed as part of a national language plan encompassing all sectors of society, including the deaf community. As such, it operates within the following paradigm:

In terms of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the government, and thus the Department of Education, recognises that our cultural diversity is a valuable national asset and hence is tasked, amongst other things, to promote multilingualism, the development of the official languages, and respect for all languages used in the country, including South African Sign Language and the languages referred to in the South African Constitution.

The inherited language-in-education policy in South Africa has been fraught with tensions, contradictions and sensitivities, and underpinned by racial and linguistic discrimination. A number of these discriminatory policies have affected either the access of the learners to the education system or their success within it.

The new language in education policy is conceived of as an integral and necessary aspect of the new government's strategy of building a non-racial nation in South Africa. It is meant to facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and region, while at the same time creating an environment in which respect for languages other than one's own would be encouraged.

This approach is in line with the fact that both societal and individual multilingualism are the global norm today, especially on the African continent. As such, it assumes that the learning of more than one language should be general practice and principle in our society. That is to say, being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African. It is

constructed also to counter any particularistic ethnic chauvinism or separatism through mutual understanding.

A wide spectrum of opinions exists as to the locally viable approaches towards multilingual education, ranging from arguments in favour of the cognitive benefits and cost-effectiveness of teaching through one medium (home language) and learning additional language(s) as subjects, to those drawing on comparative international experience demonstrating that, under appropriate conditions, most learners benefit cognitively and emotionally from the type of structured bilingual education found in dual-medium (also known as two-way immersion) programmes. Whichever route is followed, the underlying principle is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s). Hence, the Department's position that an additive approach to bilingualism is to be seen as the normal orientation of our language-in-education policy. With regard to the delivery system, policy will progressively be guided by the results of comparative research, both locally and internationally.

The right to choose the language of learning and teaching is vested in the individual. This right has, however, to be exercised within the overall framework of the obligation on the education system to promote multilingualism.

This paradigm also presupposes a more fluid relationship between languages and culture than is generally understood in the Eurocentric model which we have inherited in South Africa. It accepts a priori that there is no contradiction in a multicultural society between a core of common cultural traits, beliefs, practices, etc., and particular sectional or communal cultures. Indeed, the relationship between the two can and should be mutually reinforcing and, if properly managed, should give rise to and sustain genuine respect for the variability of the communities that constitute our emerging nation.

AIMS

The main aims of the Ministry of Education's policy for language in education are:

to promote full participation in society and the economy through equitable and meaningful access to education;

to pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth amongst learners, and hence to establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education;

to promote and develop all the official languages;

to support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes, languages which are important for international trade and communication, and South African Sign Language, as well as Alternative and Augmentative Communication□;to counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching;to develop programmes for the redress of previously disadvantaged languages.POLICY: LANGUAGES AS SUBJECTSAll learners shall offer at least one approved language as a subject in Grade 1 and Grade 2.From Grade 3 (Std 1) onwards, all learners shall offer their language of learning and teaching and at least one additional approved□ language as subjects.All language subjects shall receive equitable time and resource allocation.The following promotion

requirements apply to language subjects:In Grade 1 to Grade 4 (Std 2) promotion is based on performance in one language and Mathematics.From Grade 5 (Std 3) onwards, one language must be passed.From Grade 10 to Grade 12 two languages must be passed, one on first language level, and the other on at least second language level. At least one of these languages must be an official language.

Subject to national norms and standards as determined by the Minister of Education, the level of achievement required for promotion shall be determined by the provincial education departments.

POLICY: LANGUAGE OF LEARNING AND TEACHING

The language(s) of learning and teaching in a public school must be (an) official language(s).

NORMS AND STANDARDS REGARDING LANGUAGE POLICY PUBLISHED IN TERMS OF SECTION 6(1) OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS ACT, 1996

INTRODUCTION

AIM OF THESE NORMS AND STANDARDS

Recognising that diversity is a valuable asset, which the state is required to respect, the aim of these norms and standards is the promotion, fulfilment and development of the state's overarching language goals in school education in compliance with the Constitution, namely:

the protection, promotion, fulfilment and extension of the individual's language rights and means of communication in education; and

the facilitation of national and international communication through promotion of bi- or multilingualism through cost-efficient and effective mechanisms,

to redress the neglect of the historically disadvantaged languages in school education.

DEFINITIONS

In these norms and standards, unless the context otherwise indicates, words and expressions contained in the definitions in the Act shall have corresponding meanings; and the following words and phrases shall have the following meanings:

"the Act" means the South African Schools Act, Act 84 of 1996

"the Constitution" means the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996

"school district" means a geographical unit as determined by the relevant provincial legislation, or prevailing provincial practice

"language" means all official languages recognised in the Constitution, and also South African Sign Language, as well as Alternative and Augmentative Communication.

THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

The parent exercises the minor learner's language rights on behalf of the minor learner. Learners who come of age, are hereafter referred to as the learner, which concept will include also the parent in the case of minor learners.

The learner must choose the language of teaching upon application for admission to a particular school.

Where a school uses the language of learning and teaching chosen by the learner, and where there is a place available in the relevant grade, the school must admit the learner.

Where no school in a school district offers the desired language as a medium of learning and teaching, the learner may request the provincial education department to make provision for instruction in the chosen language, and section 5.3.2 must apply. The provincial education department must make copies of the request available to all schools in the relevant school district.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE SCHOOL

Subject to any law dealing with language in education and the Constitutional rights of learners, in determining the language policy of the school, the governing body must stipulate how the school will promote multilingualism through using more than one language of learning and teaching, and/or by offering additional languages as fully-fledged subjects, and/or applying special immersion or language maintenance programmes, or through other means approved by the head of the provincial education department. (This does not apply to learners who are seriously challenged with regard to language development, intellectual development, as determined by the provincial department of education.)

Where there are less than 40□ requests in Grades 1 to 6, or less than 35 requests in Grades 7 to 12 for instruction in a language in a given grade not already offered by a school in a particular school district, the head of the provincial department of education will determine how the needs of those learners will be met, taking into accountthe duty of the state and the right of the learners in terms of the Constitution, including the need to achieve equity,the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices,

practicability, and

the advice of the governing bodies and principals of the public schools concerned.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PROVINCIAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS

The provincial education department must keep a register of requests by learners for teaching in a language medium which cannot be accommodated by schools.

In the case of a new school, the governing body of the school in consultation with the relevant provincial authority determines the language policy of the new school in accordance with the regulations promulgated in terms of section 6(1) of the South African Schools Act, 1996.

It is reasonably practicable to provide education in a particular language of learning and teaching if at least 40 in Grades 1 to 6 or 35 in Grades 7 to 12 learners in a particular grade request it in a particular school.

The provincial department must explore ways and means of sharing scarce human resources. It must also explore ways and means of providing alternative language maintenance programmes in schools and or school districts which cannot be provided with and or offer additional languages of teaching in the home language(s) of learners.

FURTHER STEPS

Any interested learner, or governing body that is dissatisfied with any decision by the head of the provincial department of education, may appeal to the MEC within a period of 60 days.

Any interested learner, or governing body that is dissatisfied with any decision by the MEC, may approach the Pan South African Language Board to give advice on the constitutionality and/or legality of the decision taken, or may dispute the MEC's decision by referring the matter to the Arbitration Foundation of South Africa.

A dispute referred to the Arbitration Foundation of South Africa must be finally resolved in accordance with the Rules of the Arbitration Foundation of Southern Africa by an arbitrator or arbitrators appointed by the Foundation.
□ Alternative and Augmentative Communication facilitate communication for learners with limited or no speaking skills.
□ The term "approved languages" indicates that valid syllabuses at first or second language level have been submitted, and have been approved by the Minister as national policy. All official languages are "approved" languages, while German First Language is also an "approved" language for non-immigrant candidates. A syllabus at first or second language level, for any language, may be submitted for approval by the Minister.□ The numbers 40 and 35 are informed by inter alia the following:
The learner-teacher ratio
The cost-effective use of education funds

Appendix C: Key Dates in Language Planning in South Africa

1822	English becomes the official language of the Cape Colony and the dominant language in mission schools.
1908	Dual-medium education in Dutch and English is utilized. Mother tongue is used up to and including Standard 4 (about Grade 5). Thereafter, three subjects are studied in each language.
1910	English and Dutch are recognized as South Africa's official languages.
1922	Study of African languages is made compulsory for black students.
1923	English and Afrikaans are recognized as South Africa's official languages.
1943	General strike by teachers and pupils to protest against dual-medium schools. Demand for separate schools for English and Afrikaans speaking learners because of cultural allegiances (especially to Afrikaans).
1948	Nationalist Party elected. Separate schools established for English and Afrikaans students. Students have to pass both official languages.
1953	*Bantu Education Act* passed, which stated initial mother tongue instruction with transfer to English in elementary school by Standard 1 (about grade 3). In secondary school 50% of subjects were taught through the medium of English and the other 50% in Afrikaans.
1976	Soweto uprising in response to proposals that an examination should be written in both official languages for promotion to secondary school after only one year of instruction in these languages.
1979	Black secondary schools to be taught in English or Afrikaans. Mother tongue to be used up to and including Standard 2. Sudden transfer to English or Afrikaans. English becomes the dominant medium of instruction.
1980s	Civil society organizations begin drafting policies on language in education.
1991	Department of Education and Training allows parents to choose the language policy that would be applied in schools. Parents given a range of three possible options: mother tongue education; sudden transfer; English-only. English-only is the most popular option. (This was not an informed choice on the part of parents.)
1993	Reports on language in education published. ANC drafts policy on language education.
1993	Interim constitution proposes 11 official languages. Clauses allow for the development of previously underdeveloped languages.

1994	ANC-led government of National Unity elected. Legislation aimed to redress past inequalities caused by Bantu education.
1996	South African Schools Act stipulates that School Governing Bodies must determine school language policies within stipulated constitutional guidelines.

Source: Language in Education: Policies, Planning and Issues Workshop for the Department of Education, Western Region. 27–28 January 1999.

Appendix D: Implementation of South Africa's Multilingual Policy in Schools

The two examples provided in this Appendix are illustrative of the fact that South Africa is still in a period of transition regarding the formation and implementation of language policies in their educational institutions. Some provinces are better equipped than others regarding implementation of the new constitution.

Example from Eastern Cape : At the Preliminary Discussion Stage

Information in this part of Appendix D is based on the workshop described below and interviews with Bev Burkett and Jennifer Elizabeth (Aisha) Roberts (1999).

While at Eastern Cape I was fortunate to be invited to attend a train-the-trainers workshop on classroom support and on building awareness of how to formulate policy on South Africa's multilingual policy. The government hoped the formation of language policy would be, to a large extent, based on educators' knowledge of language education. As can be seen from these goals, Eastern Cape schools have not even begun to think a great deal about the multilingual policy, let alone form and implement policies for their school.

Eastern Cape has a big challenge as it is one of the country's poorest provinces. The province has a high population of disadvantaged people because it encompasses two former homelands, Transkei and Siskei. Schools are poorly resourced, student-teacher ratios often range in disadvantaged schools from 80 to 100:1, and the provincial government does not even have the resources to pay teachers properly. Salaries are often reduced or paid late. Finally, the province's language policy at the time of the workshop was only in draft stage and did not take into account the most recent education legislation. There was a concern with apathy in the provincial Department of Education. Therefore, policy developers within schools lack the necessary information and support they need to formulate a language policy. The draft seemed to be promoting the three languages most spoken in the province (English, Afrikaans, and Xhosa).

The workshop was sponsored by the provincial Department of Education for the Western Region of Eastern Cape. This region encompasses six elementary education districts. Facilitators, one from the University of Port Elizabeth and the other a private consultant, volunteered their time. Workshop trainees included college level teacher educators in language education. The trainees agreed that schools would not, on their own, develop a formal language policy unless a school is very well-organized or has a specific political agenda.

By the end of the workshop, trainees had explored various topics in language education including the following:

- confusion in terminology (mother tongue vs. home language vs. primary language)
- language as power

- motivation for learning a language and resistance to change
- How Cummins' (1984) concepts of "linguistic interdependence," basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) relate to academic literacy
- policy formation.

The discussion on the process of policy formation was interesting. Definitions and characteristics of policy were discussed. Three possible theoretical explanations for the policy-making process were outlined (rational/linear, interactive, and muddling through). Former monopolistic and hierarchical apartheid policy-making models were compared to current models, which are much more stakeholder based and democratic. The lack of expertise, however, was identified as a roadblock to current policy making and difficulties with policy implementation were discussed. Finally, groups identified steps in drafting and implementing a language policy for schools and the structure of the written policy.

The workshop ended with preparations for the district workshops.

Example from Gauteng

Information in this part of Appendix D is based on a Masters Thesis by Roberts (1997).

In Gauteng and most other provinces, school language policies are already well developed. Gauteng, especially, has much expertise available to support the development and implementation of policy. As early as 1995 the *Gauteng School Education Bill* became law and the *School Education Act* introduced new regulations, which followed the constitution. Other provinces followed suit. A major guideline is the responsibility of each school through its school governing body to develop and implement its own language policy. This appears to have worked well in Gauteng.

Roberts makes the following three recommendations regarding the policy formation process in Gauteng:

- Policy making should be viewed as a process that sometimes goes smoothly and sometimes involves conflict. Conflict should not be viewed negatively as failure, but be used to explore policy development more deeply and make adjustments if necessary.

- Implementation is an important part of policy making. It is important when making policies to determine if they are feasible by exploring how teachers will respond and adapt their teaching to the policy. Policy makers must be aware of the reaction of those who will implement the policy.

- Inexperienced policy makers need be educated on the policy-making process, and the politics and sensitivities involved in this process. They need to know how policies can be formulated and about issues related to content.

Appendix E: Implementation of South Africa's Multilingual Policy in Tertiary Educational Institutions

Port Elizabeth Technikon (PET)

The following is based on discussions with Karen van Heerden (personal communication, February 1999) and documents from Port Elizabeth Technikon.

South Africa's technikons all had bilingual policies in past. Bilingual English-Afrikaans lectures disadvantaged speakers of other South African languages. In theory there were few black students at white technikons because of government quotas imposed in the early 1980s. Because in 1988 the PET's new rector ignored the quotas, the institution has for some time had larger numbers of black students (primarily Xhosa speakers) than allowed. Language had been a concern at the institution for a decade and especially since 1994 when the black student population increased dramatically with the breakdown of apartheid.

By 1994 PET had already established a representative transformation forum to address education policy that would be in line with the new constitution. Van Heerden described a process of policy formation that was extremely long and drawn out. It stressed consensus of all forum members. Thus, all members had to provide input and some meetings had up to 60 people present.

To expedite formation of a language policy, a subcommittee of five members was established. Membership included students and staff who had expertise in languages. The committee's main concerns were constitutional constraints, application of sound language theory, and people's preferences. Because black students did not attend meetings on the topic, a special questionnaire was sent to them. It yielded 1000 responses! 62% of respondents favoured one MOI, and 97% of those said that the MOI should be English. It is understandable that 50% of the Afrikaans students responding opposed English as the MOI.

PET contacted other TEIs, but none had new language policies yet formed, although some (e.g., University of Western Cape) had interim documents, had formed committees, or were studying the issue. After 2 years of input from students, staff, and outside experts, including other TEIs, the committee proposed a policy to academic senate. Senate objected to the policy, demanding rewording because they said that the policy was unfair to Afrikaans speakers. Van Heerden notes that Afrikaans deans and administration had not attended any of the meetings that were called on the topic because they did not think a language policy would affect them. With rewording and clarification, the policy was finally accepted by all.

The proposed policy attached is one of broad multilingualism to facilitate admission and support learning (note that there has been some minor rewording since this document was published). PET's language policy gives equal status to all official languages with the promotion of three (English, Xhosa, and Afrikaans). While multilingualism is to be fostered in the classroom, for practical purposes the language of teaching and assessment is English. The policy also includes guidelines for implementation.

Rhodes University, Grahamstown

The following is based on discussions with Vivian de Klerk.

Rhodes University has gone through a similar process, with similar reports of lengthy discussions, ending with a final draft. As of February 1999, there was a two-page document stating that the institution will remain English medium, but a higher profile will be given to Afrikaans and Xhosa via offering courses in those languages, and administration and academic staff offering more support to those languages. For example, there will be more public signage in all three languages. De Klerk notes that in spite of efforts, 2 years of surveying students has shown that English speaking students are more concerned about supporting Xhosa than are the Xhosa-speaking students.

Appendix F: Summary Notes on the Extinction of Canadian Aboriginal Languages

The following summary is based on articles by Burnaby (1987) and Norris (1998). There are approximately 50 aboriginal languages still spoken in Canada. These can be grouped into 11 language families: ten First Nations and Inuktitut. In addition, with the exception of the Haida, Tlingit, and Kutenai families (the isolates), most may include several dialects.

It is in geographically isolated communities away from the dominant cultures, such as in northern Quebec, Nunavut, NWT, and Labrador, where aboriginal languages face fewer pressures and so survive more easily. Inuit and registered Indians tend to maintain their languages more than Métis and non-status Indians who tend to live off-reserve. Also, languages with large numbers of speakers are more viable, such as Inuktitut, Cree, and Ojibway.

Following are some additional facts, many based on data from Statistics Canada:

- As of 1996, 800,000 people in Canada claimed aboriginal ancestry—between 2% and 3% of the total Canadian population.
- As of 1996, 26% of aboriginal people spoke an aboriginal language as their mother tongue, that is, the language spoken at home and still understood.
- With the exception of east-central Quebec, aboriginal people are more likely to speak English than French.
- Most aboriginal languages eroded in vitality between 1981 and 1996, as evidenced in national censuses for those years and the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS). Endangered languages suffered the most.
- The three largest aboriginal language families represent 93% of persons with an aboriginal mother tongue. They are
  - Algonquian—147,000 speakers
  - Inuktitut—28,000 speakers
  - Athapaskan—20,000 speakers
- The other eight aboriginal language families represent 7% of persons with an aboriginal mother tongue.

Language Classification: "Viable" and "Endangered"

There is general agreement about which languages are viable and which endangered. Aboriginal languages can be divided into five groups: already extinct, near extinction, endangered, viable but with a small population base, and viable with a large population base.

- Languages near extinction are considered to be beyond the possibility of revival, since generally only a few elderly people know them.

- Languages considered endangered are still spoken by enough people to make survival an outside possibility, given sufficient community interest and educational programs.

- Languages that are viable but spoken by a small population base tend to have more than 1,000 speakers and are spoken in isolated or well-organized communities with strong self-awareness. In these communities, language is considered one of the important marks of identity.

- Viable languages have a large enough population bases that long-term survival is relatively assured (Kinkade in Norris, 1998, p. 9)..

Appendix G: South Africa Background Notes

U.S. Department of State
Background Notes: Republic of South Africa, February 1998
(with some updates)
Released by the Office of Southern African Affairs,
Bureau of African Affairs

Source: <http://www.tradeport.org/ts/countries/safrica/bnotes.shtml>

Official Name: Republic of South Africa

People

Population (1997): 38 million (41.5 according to *Encarta Atlas*, 1995 estimate; 42.7 according to *Encarta Encyclopedia*, 1995 estimate)
Annual growth rate (1997 est.): 1.51%.
Composition: black 75%; white 14%; coloured 9%; Asian (Indian) 2%.
Languages and percentage of the population speaking the most prominent languages (Buchholz, 1996): English (3.5 million), Afrikaans (5.9 million—mostly coloured), Zulu (15.5 million), Ndebele , Pedi, Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa.
Religions: Predominantly Christian; traditional African, Hindu, Muslim, Jewish.
Education: Years compulsory: 7–15 years for all children. The Schools Bill, passed by Parliament in 1996, aims to achieve greater educational opportunities for black children, mandating a single syllabus and more equitable funding for schools.
Health (1997 est.): Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)—53.2.
Life expectancy: 8 years, women; 54 years, men.

At least 40% of the population is said to be HIV positive (M. Inglis, personal communication, March 1999)

Until 1991, South African law divided the population into four major racial categories: Africans (black), whites, coloureds, and Asians. Although this law has been abolished, many South Africans still view themselves and each other according to these categories. Africans comprise about 75% of the population and are divided into a number of different ethnic groups. Whites comprise about 14% of the population. They are primarily descendants of Dutch, French, English, and German settlers who began arriving at the Cape in the late 17th century. Coloureds are mixed race people, primarily descending from the earliest settlers and the indigenous peoples. They comprise about 9% of the total population. Asians descend from Indian workers brought to South Africa in the mid-19th century to work on the sugar estates in Natal. They constitute about 2% of the population and are concentrated in the Kwazulu-Natal Province.

Education is in a state of flux. Under the apartheid system, schools were segregated, and the quantity and quality of education varied significantly across racial groups. Although the laws governing this segregation have been abolished, the long and

arduous process of restructuring the country's educational system is just beginning. The challenge is to create a single non-discriminatory, non-racial system that offers the same standards of education to all people.

Geography

Area: 1.2 million sq. km. (470,462 sq. mi.) [about the size of Alberta and Saskatchewan combined]
Cities—Capitals: Administrative, Pretoria; legislative, Cape Town; judicial, Bloemfontein.
Other cities: Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth.
Terrain: plateau, savanna, desert, mountains, coastal plains.
Climate: moderate; similar to southern California.

Government

Type: Executive-president; bicameral parliament.
Independence: The Union of South Africa was created on May 31, 1910; became sovereign state within British empire in 1934; became a Republic on May 31, 1961; left the Commonwealth in October 1968. Non-racial, democratic constitution came into effect April 27, 1994; rejoined the Commonwealth in May 1994.
Branches: Executive-president (chief of state) elected to a five-year term by the National Assembly. Legislative-bicameral parliament consisting of 490 members in two chambers. National Assembly (400 members) elected by a system of proportional representation. National Council of Provinces consisting of 90 delegates (10 from each province) and 10 non-voting delegates representing local government. Judicial-Constitutional Court interprets and decides constitutional issues; Supreme Court of Appeal is the highest court for interpreting and deciding non-constitutional matters.
Administrative subdivisions—nine provinces: Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, Kwazulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, North-West, Northern Cape, Northern Province, Western Cape.
Political parties: African National Congress (ANC), National Party (NP), Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Vryheidsfront/Freedom Front (FF), Democratic Party (DP), Pan-African Congress (PAC), African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), United Democratic Movement (UDM), Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), and Conservative Party (CP).
Suffrage: Citizens and permanent residents 18 and older.

Economy

GDP (1997 projected): $115.5 billion.
GDP growth rate (FY 1997-98): 1.5%–1.7%.
GDP per capita (1997 established): $3,040.
Unemployment (1997 established): 30%.
Exchange rate (Mar. 1, 1999): 6 rand=U.S.$1.

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